MOVEMENT January-April 1973
(*Labor Challenge*, Correspondence & Documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere/ YS-LJS

(Voir aussi: W8- Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)
'*Article on file'* at National Archives

1973

1973-01Jan12-1	R.D. note to self: "98 days to the convention"
1973-01Jan15	R.D. note to self "Yesterday's metro assembly"
1973-01Jan24	Letter to Nick (Shugalo), Vancouver
1973-01Jan25-1	Note on probationary members (with Preamble below)
1973-01Jan25-2a	Note on postal workers article in Labor Challenge
1973-01Jan28-1	P.C. Minutes No. 5 "RD: this resolution formulated"
1973-01Jan29	R.D. note to self: "The first woman's caucus"
1973-01Jan30-1	R.D. note to self: "Pat Schulz" & Toronto East Branch meeting
1973-01Jan30-2	R.D. note to self: "What do the articles on the postal workers"
**1973-*	*LSA/LSO DB#26: The LSA NDP line in practice: New Brunswick fiasco (file)*
**1973-*	*LSA/LSO DB#26: The (RCT) position on the NDP; On Waffle (B.S. & A.M.) (file)*
**1973-*	*LSA/LSO DB#26: Counter-Report of RCT on Ontario NDP and LC strategy (file)*
1973-01Jan22-lc71	*Canada—Hands off Vietnam!*
**1973-Jan22-lc71*	*Argentine socialists contest election – Workers slate (file)*
**1973-Jan22-lc71*	*Argentine student tours Canada – scores dictatorship (file)*
**1973-Jan22-lc71*	*NDP must back Vietnam self-determination*
**1973-Jan22-lc71*	*(Prime Minister) 'Peacemaker' or powdermonkey?*

1973-01Jan-lc71-2	Abortion Tribunal set (New York demonstration)
1973-01Jan-lc71-3	Edit-- NDP is wrong to support Liberals
1973-01Jan-lc71-4	Natives defy James Bay land grab
1973-01Jan-lc71-5	(Bernadette) Devlin appeals for Irish solidarity actions
1973-01Jan-lc71-6a	Young Socialists set major tasks
1973-01Jan-lc71-6b	Kathleen Dalton, reporter – YS leads campus struggles
1973-01Jan-lc71-6c	Student struggles against education cutbacks
1973-02Feb6	Note to self: Dennis raised an important necessity – the Waffle
1973-02Feb7	Note to self: re the Jan 28 meeting with Ernie, Vern, myself
1973-02Feb10	Note to self: the Metro assembly discussion of the Red Circle
1973-02Feb11	Note to self: opened up the MISC experience in a modest way
1973-02Feb99a	Flyer: ‘’There is no peace’’ in Vietnam (LSA)
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB#28: Revolutionary communist position on students*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB#29-1: Social democracy and the LSA (B.S. & W. D.*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB#29-2: The roots of degeneration (Will O.) (on file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB #30: The Chartered Banks role (R.Dowson)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB #30: Discussion on nationalism byW. Roberts*
1973-02Feb5-lc72	NO PEACE IN VIETNAM
*1973-Feb-lc72	World protests condemn Nixon's war
*1973-Feb-lc72	How they took Canada into Kora (1951)
1973-02Feb-lc72-1	Repeal abortion laws now! NDP discrimination against Gays
1973-02Feb-lc72-2a	Meaning of U.S. abortion victory
1973-02Feb-lc72-2b	(Abortion clinic doctor) Morgentaler proscuted

1973-02Feb-lc72-3 B.C.women seek government action (Women's ministry)

1973-02Feb-lc72-4a Quebec gov't mounts attack – Protest jailing of labor leaders!

1973-02Feb-lc72-4b Quebec labor denounces Bill 89 – attack on unions

1973-02Feb-lc72-5 Quebec (textile) factory occupation – Natives occupy Affairs

1973-02Feb-lc72-6a Cutbacks spark (school) occupations

1973-02Feb-lc72-6b Student actions across Canada

*1973-Feb-lc72- Who will free Quebec? Reply to Canadian Stalinists (on file)

1973-02Feb-lc72-8 Workers front program – Argentina

1973-02Feb-lc72-9 (Guinean) Liberation fighter murdered – Solidarity with Irish

1973-02Feb-lc72-10 Revolutionaries and the NDP (by John Steele)

*1973-Feb-lc72 Book reviews – When Russia led the world revolution (on file)

1973-02Feb19-lc73 Free Quebec labor leaders! Defeat Bill 89!

1973-02Feb-lc73-1 Editorial – Defeat Bill 89!

*1973-Feb-lc73 Meaning of Viet ceasefire accord

*1973-Feb-lc73a Letter criticizes LC article on anti-war action

*1973-Feb-lc73b Reply to critique by Indochina Solidarity Committee

*1973-Feb-lc73 Editorial – Canadian forces aid imperialism

*1973-Feb-lc73 Why Viet accords don't mean peace (file from ICP, NY)

*1973-Feb-lc73 US exiles seek complete amnesty (draft dodgers)

1973-02Feb-lc73-2a Conference to map abortion campaign

1973-02Feb-lc73-2b NDP must repeal BC anti-labor laws now

1973-02Feb-lc73-3 Natives fight for aboriginal rights, demand self-determination

*1973-Feb-lc73 2,200 in Argentine worker-socialist slate (on file)

1973-02Feb-lc73-4	Irish republicans (Sinn Fein) debate strategy (Gerry Foley)
*1973-Feb-lc73	125 Years of the Communist Manifesto (file)
1973-02Feb-lc73-5	Young socialist wins high school student president – YSer jailed
1973-02Feb-lc73-6	French doctors challenge abortion laws – BC NDP women
*1973-Mar1-	*LSA/LSO DB31 -PC-LSA/LSO Political Resolution*
*1973-Mar-	*LSA DB32: Counter document on Women's Liberation (Pat Shulz)*
*1973-Mar16	*Declaration by the United Tendency*
1973-03Mar7a	Letter from Can. Cttee to Defence Quebec Trade Unionists
1973-03Mar7b	Appeal from Quebec Trade Unionists from FTQ/QFL
*1973-Mar.DB#33a	*CC Plenum: Women's Liberation Report (JH)*
*1973-DB#33b+c.	*Contribution on CC Women's Report (L.Blackwood)*
1973-03Mar17a	Cover-DB34: Where the P.C. Majority's position takes it
1973-03Mar17b	LSA/LSO DB34: Document by William Brant
*1973-Mar-	*LSA/LSO DB35: Key issue in Canada US Relations, Pt.2 (R.D.)*
*1973-Mar-	*LSA/LSO DB36A: Unity process with the Red Circle PC Report (G.P.) (file)*
*1973-Mar-	*LSA/LSO DB36B: Documents of the Red Circle Unity Discussion*
*1973-Mar-	*LSA/LSO DB37: Marxism & Nationalism: setting the record straight (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB38: Contribution on Nationalism Pt.2 Dennis Lomas*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB39: Tte key issues in the Canadian nationalism dispute?(J.R.)(file)*
1973-03Mar5-lc74	Sisterhood -- March 8 International Women's Day
*1973-Mar-lc74	Why RC church opposes women's right to abortion –Reed (file)
1973-03Mar-lc74-3	Tribunal told of crimes against women

1973-03Mar-lc74-4 Sit-in wins NDP pledge on day care – Students batter Borowski

1973-03Mar-lc74-5 Alberta NDP meets – Debates labor ties

*1973-Mar-lc74 (Minister) Sharp's 'conditions' violate Viet rights

1973-03Mar-lc74-6 Labor unity needed to fight Quebec jailings (of leaders)

1973-03Mar-lc74-7 Gov't agrees to bargain on native land claims

1973-03Mar-lc74-8 Editorial – Israel guilty of mass murder

1973-03Mar-lc74-9 Young Socialists contest campus elections

*1973-Mar-lc74 How Trotskyists led steel strike (in Argentina) (on file)

*1973-Mar-lc74 Communist League contests French elections (rally) (on file)

*1973-Mar-lc74 How Popular Front paved way to (Spanish) fascism 1931) (file)

1973-03Mar19-lc **F**ree Big 3, Quebec labor demands

*1973-Mar-lc75 Editorials-- Say no to NORAD (in name of 'defence')

1973-03Mar-lc75-2 Feminism and the abortion campaign – For women's coalition

1973-03Mar-lc75-3 Sisterhood is powerful – Dr. Morgentaler at Toronto meeting

*1973-Mar-lc75 Sharp is maneuvering to prolong Vietnam ICCS role

*1973-Mar-lc75 How Canadian Left views Viet accords (on file)

*1973-Mar-lc75 Need labor party, LSO tells PQ 'left' (file)

1973-03Mar-lc75-4 (U of Quebec—Montreal) Strike ends, struggle goes on

*1973-Mar-lc75 (Y-R) US 'energy crisis' spell ruin for Canada (nationalists) (file)

*1973-Mar-lc75 (Y-R) Brascan (Brazil) – cross-section of Canada's ruling class

*1973-Mar-lc75 Marxism and Feminism (on file)

1973-03Mar-lc75-5a Meetings celebrate International Women's Day

1973-03Mar-lc75-5b Manitoba feminists debate (anti-abortion MLA) Borowski

*1973-Mar-lc75	Interview with socialist candidate in Argentina (on file)
*1973-Apr.3	The NEW STAGE in Canada-US Relations
*1973-	LSA/LSO DB41: Waffle: test case for Canadian nationalism
*1973-	LSA/LSO DB42: The intelligent Trotskyist's Guide to the PC's 'Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism' by Wayne R
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB43: A new stage in Canada-US Relations --(U.T.)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB44-1: Our liquidation into the Ontario Waffle (M.G.) (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB44-2: Declaration of the Majority Tendency (FI tendency) (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB45: Contradictions of Canadian Capitalism--our tasks(RCT)(file)*
*1973-	*LSA /LSO DB46: Contribution on Quebec (Plenum) by R.D.*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB47: International Report to CC Plenum (A.Y.) (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB48-1: Counter-International Report RCT (M.S. & M. T.) (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB48-2: Did the PC suppress the Germain document? (A.Y.) (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB49: Counter-Resolution to Women's Liberation (PC)*
*1973	*-LSA/LSO DB50a: A campaign supporting NDP under program of LSA (S.W.)(file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB50b: For a materialist approach to nationalism (J.Y.)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB52: In defense of NDP orientation--RCT (D.F.) (file)*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB54: The collapse of our NDP work in Ontario*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB55: 1) Against the school of Quotations, by Wm.Brant*
*1973-	*LSA/LSO DB 56-1 Canadian nationalism & sentimentalism (P.C.)*
1973-	LSA/LSO DB56 4Apr19 RD "Statement on publications program"

*1973-04April	*(SWP Cannon reprint) "How to Select a Leadership" (on file)*
**1973-*	*LSA/LSO DB57: The U.T. "Canadianizes" Marxism (A.B.,Mtl.)*
**1973-*	*LSA/LSO DB57:Revolutionary party-revolutionary program (B.M.)*
1973-04Apr00	United Tendency call-(to LSA/LSO) 1973-04Apr Letter J.D. to R.D. welcoming Tendency declaration
1973-04Apr1b	J.D. contribution to discussion in Vancouver Branch
1973-04Apr9a	Political Committee Platform (LSA/LSO Convention)
1973-04Apr9b	Platform of the RCT and the United Tendency
1973-04Apr9c	Notes by R.D. on Abie W. "Leadership revision on Vietnam"
1973-04Apr9d	J.D. letter to Lomas, Dowson, etc. protesting factionalism
1973-04Apr11-1	**United Tendency platform**
1973-04Apr11-2	Draft Statement by UT to Vancouver Branch (from J.D.)
1973-04Aril11	United Tendency -GD- to Metro branch
1973-04Apr12	Letter J.D. to Lomas & UT on Vancouver Declaration
**1973-Apr13--*	*LSA/LSO DB#47 International Report to PC- A.Y.*
1973-04Apr19-1	Vang. Forum: Dr. Istvan Meszaros: "Social accountancy--"
1973-04Apr28a	Discussion Series: Revolutionary potential of Canadian labor
1973-04Apr28b	5 discussions on Canadian and Quebec labor; the Party
1973-04Apr98	(NA) On amendments to Political & Antiwar Resolutions (ZB)
1973-04Apr99a	Left Caucus Statement; Stop the leadership sellout!
**1973-April*	*Report of Control Commission to Convention (on file)*
1973-04Apr2-lc76	Map campaign for women's right to abortion
**1973-Apr2-lc76*	*Ottawa extends 'peacekeeping' farce (in Vietnam)*
**1973-Apr2-lc76*	*Editorial-- Canada must get out now*

1973-04Apr-lc76-2 Performed illegal abortions, Morgentaler states at rally

1973-04Apr-lc76-3 LSA spokeswoman (J.Henderson)-- Socialists express solidarity

1973-04Apr-lc76-4 Ontario gov't mounts attack on abortion under medicare

1973-04Apr-lc76-5a The politics of the abortion struggle

**1973-Apr2-lc76* *Sisterhood is powerful – A women's work is never done (file)*

1973-04Apr-lc76-6a Quebec labor unites to fight jailings (of its leaders)

1973-04Apr-lc76-7 PQ strength blocks Quebec NDP – (LC fund drive) under way!

**1973-Apr2-lc76* *Rally Argentine socialist campaign –Trotskyists gains (on file)*

**1973-Apr2-lc76* *Increasing polarization in Chile (photo – Allende guarded (file)*

**1973-Apr2-lc76* *Land sharks mobilize to defeat BC NDP bill (farmland) (on file)*

**1973-Apr2-lc76* *Wounded Knee-- occupation --second month (S.Dakota) (file)*

1973-04Apr16-lc77 Canada gets deeper into Vietnam war

*1973-Apr-lc77 First Canadian killed in Indochina war

1973-04Apr-lc771b Quebec labor rallies to free leaders (of labor confederations)

1973-04Apr-lc77-2 'Repeal anti-labor laws,' say BC NDP ranks ,

1973-04Apr-lc77-3a NDP, labor must demand 'Nationalize Bell Canada'

1973-04Apr-lc77-4 Sisterhood is powerful –Morgentaler defense campaign

1973-04Apr-lc77-5a Toronto students fight for bill of rights – High school walkouts

1973-04Apr-lc77-5b Photo– YS students' council president – *LC* needs your help

1973-04Apr-lc77-6 No borders for women's liberation (answer nationalist)

1973-04Apr-lc77-7 Israelis sentenced – Lewis for nationalization

**1973-Apr-lc77* *British plan aims to isolate Republicans (Northern Ireland) (file)*

**1973-Apr-lc77* *Chile generals leave (Allende) cabinet (ICP – on file)*

**1973-Apr-lc77* *French students mobilize – challenge conscription law (on file)*

1973-04Apr-lc77-8a Trotsky's strategy for socialist revolution

1973-04Apr-lc77-8b Review: The 'Transitional Program'

January 12, 1973---98 days to the convention

The relat onship of forces was very clear at the plenum which was used very co sciou sly by the leadership as a minin-convention. Theyreally opened it up--with Ron now finally established as TU co-ordinator--with Mark and Lynda M brought in as CO staff although neither not yet such . And of course they got the plenum to vote yes for their concept th-at the line of the press should be the position approved of by the plenum, specifically on Canada US relations---the line encompassed in Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism. This latter concept was I think not really clearly understood by the plenum. For one thing it was encompassed in the Riddell report on Canada and the Crisis---it really should have been separated out. for comrades to know what was involved. So I would have an opportunity to speak on both I asked and received an extra ten minutes. To my recollection no one else really took up this rather unprecedented action--that the plenum would establish the press line on a matter still in process of debate in a pre-convention discussion. Of course any real opposition was undercut by the difficulties really just harassments of the RCT along with the fact that Denis and I have not yet really articulate what could be called an opposite line. I would suppose you could say our line is summed up at this stage asopposition tothe leaderships carrying the banner of anti-nationalism. We dont want to carry this banner but as we see no national tasks dont have a clearly defined alternate banner--we just want to carry the class struggle banner into the milieu that is called natio alist which we think is very open to our ideas.

Generally speaking I would say that the CC met the plenum with a big sigh of relief --that this leadership after greathagony of spirit came through and got the documents out. Of course Dowson pointed to the big hole in thePR which completely ignores the question of Canada-US relations or rather its peculiarities --by treating Canada as a classical model of the developed capitalist-imperialist nation state. Of course Dowson said we have no politics in Quebec now. The Womens Liberation question is much more open than the documents might have suggested. But Quebec has what it wants, the enternal truths have been stated. The comrades want this leadership to lead.

The RCT wants to break up this leadership---wanted Dowson-Lomas to declare themselves a tendency--they want war. ~~[illegible]~~ minority. The big stick of the RCT is now the declaration of an international majority. But Dowson-Lomas go down the line with the international minority--and the RCT probably knows they wanted the L3A-L3O plenum to endorse the international minority. Dowson and Lomas take them on on Latin America. The RCT did not take up the establishment of Canada and the Crisis part of the pre-convention discussion as the public line in our press because they agree with the leadership on Canadian nationalism--

They agreed up until the plenum at anyrate. There appears to be confusion in their ranks, I hear that Brett S advanced the opinion that nationalism is not bourgeois but that it has two forms--socialist and bourgeois. But Murray has come out with a document in the name of the RCT which I havent studied yet but which appears to support the leadership--the line that Stu developed at the time he voted for Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism---he congratulated tha leadership for dumping the anti-US imperialist sentiment and urged them to go all the way on this course by dumping feminism and the sympathy line on Vuetnam instead of ~~[illegible]~~ open and baldly decalred victory to the socialist revolution in Vietnam--dump the mass actiion strategy

The RCT still manages to work on the intense dissatisfaction there is with this leader-ship. ~~[illegible]~~ Despite their identity with the international majority they still remain an unprincipled combination--with sympathy from many comrades on many different grounds. Dowson-Lomas ~~[illegible]~~ line of criticism of the leadership doesn't get any political support from the tendency----The RCT certainly doesn't favor an action program -- if anything is more rigidly crticial of the union leadership than D-L. In fact as far as the League is concerned they do not appear to have any Quebec position. The RCT doesn't favor the expressed views of D-L and Lynda on womens liberation---for what these differ ences amount to --the RCT wants to dump the ~~[illegible]~~ whole area of work which is the framework of debate between D-L and Lynda B and the leadership.

D-L dont want this leadership to be smashed but to straighten up and fly right --to sort itself out and give leadership. So this leadership got the documents out--for better or for worse. Now it is faced with the problem after laying everything on ice for a year--to get the movement rolling again along something approximating correct lines

What is the alignment of forces in the movem nt--at least in the Toronto area.
There is the tendency which with its international line should start to harden down to somekind of core. A question here is where is Peterborough (youth) going
There is Dowson-Lomas--a critical part of the leadership--and then there is a consider able number of comradesc in betweeen---with the leadrship but critical--with D and L
Reguala, Hans, Bea B, Harry, Gord etc etc--tappering off to Wayne, Peter H, Marv
Ellie then tapring over towards the RCT and then the RCT itself
The elements from Harry P over to Marv appear to me to be a very large and critical group in the politics of this debate. Some of these comrades have a positive contempt for the leadership and a very loose identity with the League--and what in some cases it is not too clear as yet --their identity with Trotskyism. Their identity with Trotskyism may be much more complete than I sometimes feel--it may be distorted by ther their almost total alienation from this leadership.
The problem is--that the leadership has not been built here in Canada and is already under collosal pressures from the international dispute and the buffeting of the neo-Trotskyists usually of an ultra left character.
Here is Dwose -Lomas innovating when the movement its very essence appears to be under considerable question.
This leadership is falling back in this situation to fundamentalist positions--even sectarian atitiudes when new challenges confront us. Dowson Lomas are trying to take up these new challenges when the essence of the movement is under assault--as they see it. The leadership's falling back only curses it to miss the challenge of playing an effective educative role i the dispute and increase the alienation of wide layers

There are tw. key issues at debate
One the international debate---The tendency will have to bring it to a head for the world congress and as far as Canada is concrned at the coming convention. We must not let them get off the Latin american hook----and we will have to take up the European document. This is a key and should be developed to cut the tendency down to its minimum -- for the tendency direction is clearly out of our movement. The timetable is determined by the developments around Red Circle, Old Mole, Halifax, in part Winnipeg and the develp ments in the International

The other is the Canada-US debate. At this time this debate finds the RCT solidly aligned with the leadership. Will it remain there ? Perhaps the international alignment will have something to do with this. Then too the RCT despite its present position of support of the leadership on Canada-US in order to have influence in the Cdn section will tend to slide over. I think we can say that this question has become a big one for the tendency as there are comrades who have a certain sympathy for the RCT's sectarian position on the NDP for instance and share their overall alienation from the leadership who see Cdn nationalism as a radntradictory but essentially radical phenomena in Cdn politics. The tendency doesn't have much of a perspective without trying to address itself to them.
For us it is nec essary to keep the tendency on its international position, which is comp letely ultra left and anti-party.
It is also necessary for us to develop our position within the Leninist framework, very clearly

Janaury 15, 1973

Yestersay's metro assembly was a most confused affair. Hard to say what came out of it. That was the meaning of John S ' report, what did it leave in the comrades mind. In the face of the escalation of the B52 bombings over North Vietnam there has been a widespread revusion--international--leading spokespersons of the bourgeois order across the globe have had to protest--in large part it is a reflexion of the revulsion throughout the masses--and in part one could say is an attempt to head off the masses coming to an understanding of the rot and decay of not only US imperialism but the capitalist order across the globe. If bourgeois spokesmen make this protest in order to maintain their credibility with the masses at the same time they legitimtaize protest by others. So what we have is a new readiness of many new elements to join in protest actions against the war in Vietna against the counter-revolutionary intervention of US imperialism
New elements are coming in and those who have carried the struggle have new opportunities to present their views .
John S report presents the situation as if the anti-war movement's back is to the wall--- he sloganized--- Fight back. He talked off the need to differentiate outselves from all others. He presented a picture of Stalinism moving in boldly ,becoming a big force again xxxm he characterized the labor brass such as Archer and their now willingness to come out of their offices, as counter-revolutionairies, betrayers, sell-out artists. That you will, He went out of his way to take on MLSC and the NDP brass. Erewin's trip to Hanoi to survey the damage of US bombing was presented as preparatory on behalf of the Canadian bourgeoisie and also of course the US state department to sending Canadian forces('peacekeeping'forces) into Vietnam. I could only interpret that to mean that we were on the defensive and we had to take on all comers into the anti-war actions with our ideas--fight back. It is as if all our previous anti-war work with its slogans had been firmly planted in the minds of the masses and it was now all in danger of being wiped out.
But the truth is just the opposite. A big opportunity faces us to carry our ideas into a situation which is very open to them, to carry them forward vigorously openly, confident of a good reception amongst new layers coming into the struggle, welcoming Archer etc The slogans, the key slogans are obvously----Stop the Bombing, Out Now(with US forces) and No Canadian troops. Along with that there is agreement that we want to put out a leaflet in the LSA's name. This leaflet would take up the question of the Sign now propaganda, take on the peaceful coexstience line of the Stalinists and expose the Chiese-Soviet sell-out of the revolution, their pressure on the N Vietnamese to settle and why it is necessary to reject the demand sign now--that it is a denail of the right of self -determiniation. The leaflet would characterize the struggle for socialism and solidarize us with that struggle. Yes, to tack on this leaflet the slogan solarity with the Vietnemase Revolution ias Peter wan s us to do is a form of tkenism. It tends to separate us out from the VMC demands which are absolutely correct and as a gesture damanded of us by the Red Circle. This prporals of Peter's is a tactical question. We could give on it but I dont see that we need to. Peter read the left caucus leaflet to the Ont NDP convention and it said all that without this slogan

John did not explain why there are two and I think three demonstrations and why we are appearing it would seem to me to be carrying one of our own in this situation. Where did our efforts to unify the action in a really big united action fail. Obvoously we were prepared to make some concessions to achieve a unity. The leaflet put out by the Jan 20 action soalition carries two slogans. Stop the Bombing--absoutely correct. --and another Stop the War. This slogan is only another way of saying sign now it seems to me. Of course we could satisfy ourselves that it meets out now--but in the present content---where sign now is cirlating far and wide it will be interpreted to mean sign now--Nixon's refusal to do so is what stands in the way in the public mind of stopping the war. Stop the War is on all counts a poor slogan. However our movement it seems to me has to get off the fetishism of slogans--and if necessary I would have gone along with a block if they insisted on this slogan--having the right and the intention of saying our own slogans All kinds of forces support sign now for different reasons. That is why we need the leaflet above all---to explain yes even to revolutionists what is wrong with it. Of course it is counter-revolutionary--but those who support it are by no means counter-revolutionary. How do you explain our own ultra-leftist Ligue Communiste supporting it. We are confronted with an educational problem--hence the leaflet.

— 2 —

27 Bulwer Street Toronto
Jan 24, 1975 M5T 1A1

Vancouver

Dear Nick

Just a few lines to let you know of a few recent developments--and in particular to cover the short contribution that I have prepared for submission to Saturday's PC meeting.

I promised myself that I would keep out of the many secondary problems that are raising their head--keep out as much as possible. I want to do a real educational job on Canada-US Relations.

The article on the banks as instruments of the US takeover is now in the hopper--and should be off shorlty. It turned out to be considerably longer than I had anticipated--about 29 pages double spaced copy. But I think that it is a valueable contribtion and was well worth the effort. And I am now picking up the notes I laid aside for Part II--the key issue at dispute. I am hoping that I will get that cleared away right after the weekend. I dont think you had Part I before the plenum. U would imagine that it is now circulated in Vancouver. I am wondering what the reception is, has it slowed all this rashmess on nationalism that the leadership promoted . Then I will get on with the question of imperialism--is Canada an imperilized imperialist nation, the state--and then nationalism. Denis has been slowed down by the job he now has and the meetings thatbare taking place. It is hard for a comrade who works all day to really get into document tion. And his job is new and in an area where he is only learning--computers

I am hoping that some of the Vancouver comrades will make contributions. There are a bunch coming in from the RCT--and it is bad that other opinions are not being expressed. There is a new development in Toronto . There is a group of about 6 to 8 comrades around Pat Mitchell(Schulz) Wayne Roberts, Bob McCarthy who are sort of pulling together--they are holding discussions. They are more pulled together through dissatisfaction with the clique leadership down here on many planes than on clear ~~xxxxxxxx~~positions--on key questions. There is a lot of dissatsifaction . For instance last East Branch meeting we had election for organizer. Gary was put forward by the leadership. The RCT last moment put in a fellow named Dick Sash--generally quite incomptent. The vote was 27 for Gary 2 abstention and 9 for Sash...which really suprises me 11 against Gary

There was a big discussion on the anti-war action--the report was permeated with petty factionalism against the Red Circle and the Old Mole so there was a big line of contributors to the discussion. It took up the meeting so we did not have the postal strike discussion which has brewing around the branch. Last nite the PC meeting was takenup with a big discussion on the question as to w hetehr there is such a thing as probationary membership in the movement. Behind this is opposition to a recommendation from N Metro branch that we accept a fellow on these grounds. A bad discussion as we were forbidden to talk about it in the concrete--only abstractly--in principle. But Art Y let it out that he considered that we are confronted with a pressure to adopt the totally false concept of an all inclusive Trotskyist party around the Old Mole and Red Circle. No doubt there is an element of this --all the more with the confusion in the movement--I am for rejecting this persons application as he does not have an attitude of comradely collaboration in any area of our work--the key question. And so we did not have the slated discussion on the postal workers. This will take place on Saturday.

Despu e my efforts to keep out of this--I am into it. While helping mail the paper last Saturday before going to sell LC to the demO(I was top salesman) I got into an informal discussion with Vern O, Ernie T Hugh D--all unionists with Brian D our postal comrade. We were all critical to some degree or other of the line as we have heard it --and I have heard that there is criticism out there--I had only read Walter B's letter not the article in the paper which we were mailing. The RCT is grabbig on to this so I have drawn up a short statement for Saturday meeting. I thought you might like to see it. I wouldn't want you to show it around but I would be interested in hearing anything you have to say about the situation out there.

I never got a reply from Brian W about the little job I tried to do for him at the UIC hearing. Has my failure to get results turned him off.

fraternally

Ross

combines, contains within it both

Bolshevism ~~its~~ political intwanseigeance and

~~its~~ organizational flexibility. This organizational flexibility serves its politics.

Our constitution defines our organizational norms

But it cannot and no attempt should be made to shape it so that it serves all the varied eventualities that have faced us in the past--and will confront us in the future as we go through the processes of splits, fusions, unifications on the way to building the mass revolutionary vanguard. It is because of this understanding that we have never written into it such a category as probationary membership and any other number of possible forms of organizational relationships that ~~magnum~~ we have used in the past or might possibly employ in the future.

The absence from our constition of the categoary of probationary membership does not in anyway mean that our movement renounces or rejects the concept of probationary membership. It has in the past and to good purpose employed this concept ~~for~~ under ~~specific circumstances~~ circumstances. And there is no reason why we ~~are~~ as dialectical materialists would exclude the use of this tool now or in the future.. To attempt to do so is an exercise in futility for as important as our constitution is--it is subject to the will of the convention and the conventions' consciousness and ability to grasp its essence and its function as a tool of our politics.

The status of probationary membership is an exceptional one and would have to be motivated in each specific circumstances. Since the circumstances favoring the use of this status could be varied, no purpose would be served to attempt to define or specify as to the circumstances and conditions.

Only the political committee between plenums and conventions has the power to recruit persons who have dropped out of our ranks and seek readmission. Transfers are governed by the autharity of the pc. These responsibilities have not unduly burdened the pc. We therefore propose that the implementation of this status reside in the pc.

RD Jan 25/73

preamble

It is not realistic to reply to the ~~request~~ enquiry of the Metro Toronto EC that there is no such category as probationary membership and that ~~the~~ an applicant is either recruited without reservations of any kind or not at all. If we are not discuss the specific circumstances ~~exchange~~ that cause this enquiry then we must make a general statement along the the following lines

Postal workers---

The article in the Jan 22 Labor Challenge is in error because it fails to identify with the militants in the postal workers unions or give them any useful direction either as to how to wh win a better contract or advance towards forming a new class struggle leadership.

When the jointbargaining committee of the postal workers rejected the conciliation board rep ort by a clear 6 to 4 majority (LC called it a narrow vote) and the membership(despite the confusion as to ~~working procedures~~ the meaning of their voting) recorded a vote of 11,217 (that could be interpreted) for acceptance and 9,479 against acceptance of the report--the press of the revolutionary socialists comes out strongly in support of the conciliation board report.

Why didn't Labor Challenge identify itself with the sizeable opposition amongst the postal workers to acceptance of the report, and why did it not become the voice of that militant opposition and advance a program of action ?

Instead it gave sweaping support to the conciliation board report--a report which recommends a mere 65 cents an hour over a period of almost three years(33 months) and almost no protection against the massive introduction of new machinery,well underway. According to the LC article the conciliation report assured job security only to those workers now employed (we have heard only those perms on permanent staff whereas there are thousands who remain temporary employees) This is praised, as being an improvement over the previous situation, instead of condemned, as we have done in the past when automation was accepted under such conditions by the Harry Bridges leadership on the West Coast etc.

Instead of calling for a clear strike vote(we reported that 6,000 carriers in 30 locals called for a halt to the vote on the negotatiing committees confusing proposition--so the taken vote is highly questionable) or some other line of action, the revolutionary press advances all the classical arguments advanced by union bureaucrats and reofmrist misleaders against any militant action.

LC says ~~attacks~~ the leadership is not ~~up to~~ equal to the task of defending the interests of the posties, but it doesn't indentify with the workers who it claims ~~refused~~ hit the bricks demanding govt action on the report(the govt has since hurriedly accepted the report) and it was not prepared for the wild cat actions that took place across the country.

As the voice of revolutionary socialist LC had no cause to identify itself with the terms such as the union representative on the board and a minority of the negotiating committee might have felt compelled to accept. Nor had we cause to take the line of "sign now".
LC makes the record for the ranks to build a class struggle opposition to the leadership in a totally abstract way. The line of the article is such as it would win no sympathy what soever and in fact would only be understood as being opposed to the actions of the militants who sought a way out by wildcatting. It does not suggest anything that would aid in coalesce ing a class struggle opposition--a cross-Canada conference of secondary leaders or anything else.

2

This is all the more difficult to grasp as our movement despite its general lack of connections with the unionized working class has a sizeable group of comrades in the postal unions, some of them with a really big experience in these unions.
The line of our press on the postal workers struggles has to be drastically revised and in consultation ,not only with the postal workers across the country but with other comrades with union experience in our various centers(Our Toronto TU fraction never met during this period) and a program of action worked out

RD Jan 25/73

POLITICAL COMMITTEE MINUTES NO. 5, January 28, 1973.

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Fleming Secretary: Macdonald
PC Present: Fleming, Crandall, Pederson, Paquette, Courtney, Brock, Page, Connolly, Kent, Macdonald, Saunders, Marlon.

PC Absent: Dufarge, Brennan, Ruby, Laboissiere.

Invited: Mike
Haywood (for Postal Workers' discussion).

RED CIRCLE: Pederson reported.

Motion: The discussions and the experiences we have had with Red Circle over the past few months indicate that there is not a basis for unity of our two organizations. Therefore there is no basis for further unity discussions at this time. Such discussions, to resume, would have to be based on a new and different experience of successful collaboration over a period of time. We are ready to discuss with the Red Circle proposals that they may have of how this might be effected.

For our part, we will continue to seek specific areas of collaboration, above all in the NDP and the building of the Left Caucus.

CARRIED
Abstention: 1 (Saunders)
All others for.

the motion was formulated on my insistance. Art really opposed it.

Motion: To adopt the report.

old adopt line/proposals

CARRIED
Abstention: 1 (Saunders)
All others for.

POSTAL WORKERS: Report by: Haywood

Discussion.

Motion: To refer the discussion to the Bureau.

CARRIED

Statement by Kent appended.

DCCUMENTATION: Paquette reported.

Motion: To publish in the internal bulletin the following Political Committee reports to the January 4-7 Central Committee plenum: International Report, Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism Report, Women's Liberation Report, Quebec Report. To refer the question of publishing the four plenum minority reports to the Bureau for further discussion.

CARRIED

Jan 29, 1973

The first woman's caucus met in a longtime last nite. Liz made a strong speech on the centrality of the abortion work in our woman's liberation work. Lynda was jubilant. However Pat and Jess werewrathful , particularly Jesse--very indignant that the line has been changed again.
Last nite the hurriedly called trade union meeting---Ernie and Vern came down to talk wi with Ron, Phil and John R --changed our line on the Scrime. Walsh report(postal workers. Only a few hours before at the PC meeting ~~[illegible]~~ no one criticized the Scnhrime-Walsh report serously My short criticism of the LC article got some responses both from Dick and from John R--I would say that in a general way they left Phil h ldinng the bag but not on very clear grounds---generally that the article did not present any prgram of action for the workers which Phil had earlier conceded--but the S-W finding was defended down the line, particulary by Ron. To a Vancouver quey as to when do Trotskyists vote for a shitty report he said that he replied-When do Trotskyists willingly and know ingly lead workers into a defeat. This has been a central concept of their argument that the postal workers are strike waey n t at all ready to go into a real struggle. On the PC level the discussion was left open--apparently for a discussion on the bureau level before the coming issue and its article. That evening Vern support the article in LC uncritically, dissociated himself from my crticisms. Ernie opened up a discussion on a generally critical plane He didn't really add anything substantial but generally voiced and extended my objections. I took on Ron's two fold concept--1--assessment of the W-S report and the assessment of the combativity of the workers. The latter first. Very hard to grab hold of this Then the W-S report. I encouraged Ron to read Bill Edmonton lette Sad but he couldn't even bring himself to honestly read that letter it came out in bits and drabs, all mixed up with his undercutting additional comments. I heckled Eventually I drew the picture--you are against the bureaucracy, but you support the report that it going to settle ~~the~~ down the whole atmosphere that has been developing in the ranks-- the vote is coming up next week--if we vote for the S-W report, ~~[illegible]~~ on the basis that there is no combativity amongst the ranks then you settle the leadership in --you have a vicoous circle from which there is no escape. The discussion is getting no whrere when suddenly Phil grabs onto this metaphor as having really revealled the dillemma and comes out against ~~[illegible]~~ our identifying with the W-S report. Neither John R Ron, Vern say anything and it is all over. So I take it now we are going to Phone Bill and take the line that we are going to campaign against the W-S report. Will that go with the rest of the comrades without a struggle. What does this do to the movement. Leading comrades carry a false line vigroously and then sudfdenyl a few hours after a PC meeting it is changed. Looking over my contribution now--it is apparent that they have accepted its main line. What does this do for them The clinching argument it seems to me was Bill Edmonton letter which Ron had so much difficulty reading and particulary the last comments on the meeting held here on local president--it called for a new vote to clarify the problem and failing that urged rejection of the W-S report. But probably Ernie play a key intermediary role. What did he do--he talked around it, didn't polemicize Generally--all is not lost, settlement is not as good as it could be--as a matter of fact when it comes to putting it down in words I find it hard to relate wh t he actually did contribute in ideas--identified with mine, genially At anyrate they got off the hook that they had put them on and which I fixed them on
PC meeting itself. The fact that I wanted my contribution to go out with the minutes provo ked a hurricane. John R opened it up--that it should not go but be held until the PC could formally deal with it. Then Al picked it up and then Dick. Dick went beserk-called it blackmail. Stu ridiculed this concept of cabinet solidarity. Then came the report on adminstrative problems. Personell. When John R came to the CC where my name is included Dick raised the matter of what I was doing. John placed it aside that I was as busy as ever but I asked for the floor and reported that I spend one day in the store--another on headquarters and the rest I am working on documentation. John said ealier that this had been agreed but Dick interjected not by the PC of which he is a member. The question of documentation came up and I reported that I was re-thinking the idea of publishing the plenum material wider than the majority documents--I noted that they didnot intend to publish my comments on the PR, I was rethinking how to handle Quebed . Dick interjected --they are the property of the movement--Of course. This was referred to the bureau.
The question of Denis or my going on the edit boeard also referred.
The Red Circle report went through without much event---Stu voted against but without strong argument--I convieed the burea to put forward a three pronged operation motion rather than just a general and often confusing adoption of the line of Gary's repoty —30—

Jan 30, 1973
Pat Hçulz phoned to tell me about the meeting that was arranged . Gary and John R asked to see her--she was just the signer of the letter informing tem of their meetings and so she got Wayne, Marv also to come. They made it clear to Gary-John that they got togehter who i is getting together because of a common concern about the league's intervention in mass action single issue themes. Of course they talk about the discussions in the movement--some documents are being prepared by various of them--they are the documents of the author but they are going to discuss them--they are not going to discuss them from the point of view of suggesting changes,,,ammendments etc but thetdiscussions may lead to their being changed but the documents will be the submkssion of the writer and of course anyone else who may want to xxxx put their name to them. So it is obvious that what we have here is a tendency in the process of formation.
Gary-John suggested that they should be brought into the discussions--but Pat and Co objecte along the lines that at the branch meetings they have had lots of opportunities to know what the majority views are. Gary-John suggested that it was perhaps premature for them to have get-togethers of this type. They suggested that they would like precis, written, of the discussions. I gather these prpositions did not go anywhere
Then Pat told me that someone who had heard about their discussions asked to come. I dont recall Pat's reply to this person but it appears that she told them that they had some ideas along a certain line and the person no longer pressed.
What is the nature of this operation. Not too clear. Premature to call it unprincipled as it is yet in the process of clarification. It contains persons of differing views to be sure--Marv is opposed to our perspective of buidling a braod left in the NDP, participating in one but is for a revolutionary left with our full program--braod left in that it is based on a couple of clear basic dxmxxx positions which provides us with a milieu to work in. This has never been Peter's view. Wayne is writing something on Cdn nationalism, I would think in a confused but sustantialy agreeable to Dennis and I

What is happening is that the movement is becoming unstuck so there will be an increasing tendency for such developments--and a tendency for the concept that we are not a Bolshevikmuel but somekind of all-inclusive socialist movement to develop. I dont see how this process can be stopped . My playing a responsible role is quite important

Jan 30 1973 Toronto East Branch meeting

3 items---Our abortion work in Canada in the lihgte f the US Supreme Court finding. Only a few months ago we were reorienting ourselves to Women's Studies and writing on why the abotion coalition work failed--we blamed it on women and not the crisis of leadership--the NDP and our own inexperience. We are moving back in a big scale and have an opportunity once again to cope with this problem. Wonder what the leadership is thinking about thier convention document in light of the new development and possibilities.
Red Circle---Gary's report not very clearly developed. Stu's contribution scandalous--claimed we handled this from a factional point of view--against Circle cause it has the line of the RCT and the Intl majority. Hands did a powerful job on him. I must prepare a good explanatio xf and defence of our line.
Big to do on the Labor Challenge report. Cant understand why the executive gave this to Dick It had nothing to do with circulation but wasan unreleived attack on our press--not limited to one or two xxxxxx articles that could be claimed to show a bad trend but every article--every word. This cntribution was followed up by contributions from Peter H Bob Sc, Stu Phil took his name off. In such an atmosphere to be silent means that you agree wixhxxxxxxx that the tendency and the group are the only serious comradès--no one defended the paper aside from Joe's short talk about getting out and selling it. Here was I who had submitted a criticism on the postal material and accused of blackmailing the leadership when I wanted it carried in the minutes. I also think the edit is a scandal . I decided to speak--and inopposition to the edit--two pronged--facts and xhx its critical support of the NDP top brass, a sharp attack but positive advice no matter how you slice it. Phil got back o the list to say that the edit board concurs with much of the criticism made here tonite--agrees with Bill Mac's criticism and making a 180degree turn--edit is wrong for getting into trap of parliamentary mancuvers and advise to NDP brass is wrong. INCREDIBLE. What did this execu tive not mixt Dick S make a report--why didn't it make a report to the branch first.
What is happening.--with George the new editor--with Dick the author. Nothing about this was brought to the PC. It will have to come now

Janaury 30 1973
What do the articles on the postal workers and the editorial in the Jan22 issue on the NDP reveal. It would seem that we are witnessing a rapid collapse of the leadership. Phil and Ron on the postal workers--Dick on the NDP. The NDP article is perhaps the worst of all. What strikes one immediately is the entriely false , misinformed--factional like attack on the NDP leadership. The writer (Dick) deosnt seem to know that the NDP is not supporting the Liberal party and their speech from the throne, that it has made it very clear that it is not prepared to bring down the governement as it would serve no purpose, not its purpose--would put the Tories in which changes nothing or n elction--which bacuse of polarization would sink the NDP as a parliamentary force which is crucial to them and of course not exactly a matter of complete indifference to us. What is behind this false attack on the NDP reformist right wing leadership-which the author knows is false? It must flow from something else Stepping back you can see that we have adopted not our position of critical support of the party--the significance of it on the Canadian political arena but we have adopted a position of critical supporters, advisors of the NDP right wing brass. Does the reast of our leadership understand what is happening politic lly. On the postal workers question they obviously dont--they had to beat down opposition in our ouwn ranks amongst our postal workers unionists--both in Vancouver and in Edmonton the Edmonton one more significant for this is our most experienced unionist. How did they come to do this--clique leadership--dismissing everyone but their own little circle.
What about other things that appear in our paper---one gets no inkling--but the other day when I was talking to John R and I think Art about Marv--I mentioned that his article in LC carried the RCT line on the NDP and then mentioned that it was picked up by ICP--John obviously knew this article was all wrong because he put his hand to his head and expressed agreement when I mentioned how bad it was that it was in ICP--yes he understood t is article well. Do any of them u derstand the NDP edit by Dick. Of course they can put responsibility on Phil and Ron for the trade union article---can they tackle Dick ! I dont think they are prepared to do so. Did they chastise George for Marv's article---well they have just made George editor--so not likely. Then there is John S who seems to be really out of everything. If it wasn't for the differences that have cropped up and his incredibly niave definition of them---pleased to see that Ross agrees there is a trade union bureaucracy in Quebec etc--I would have a personal talk with him to see what the problem is--He seems to be quite out of it. As for John R--he contin es his charming but poisonous double talk--trying to cover up here, smooth over there. The situat on is obviously not improved in Montreal. John R tells me that Art is going to have to spend all his time or nearly all in Montreal and on the United Secretariat
Gord D is very much concrened about his position. as organizaer up North---has to work with this leadership but every day he is losing more and more of his confidence in them They are now allocating some other persons up to the N Toronto operation which they have lost control of. Stu phoned him up and dismissed this leadership as "garbage." The term itself is not fasle except for it all encompassing character. As a leadership it is a rotten failure---but all its components are not garbage--perhaps it could be said that some are getting polluted---as a leadership they cannot be saved but elements can be saved to recon stituted as a leadership. The question reamins--around who. Is Dowson prepared to start all over again.
Mitchelle still holds to his old position. He is worried about this tremendous headerquart ers. When the fall-out takes place what are we to do with it--and our debt. I told him that there are two immediate cutbacks we can make. One--let the youth phone go--and 2 rent the Labor Challenge office and bring LC to the back--let it take over Action Press space. He appreciated this

Argentine socialists contest election

page 6-8

labor Challenge

JANUARY 22, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 1 [71]
25 CENTS

Canada: Hands off Vietnam!

by GEORGE ADDISON

On Jan. 5, in an unprecedented unanimous motion in the House of Commons, the Canadian parliament went on record against the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. This motion, introduced by the minority Liberal government and supported by all parties, has been widely interpreted as an indication of a new policy by the Trudeau government, a reversal of Canada's longstanding complicity in U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people.

This is not the case. In the first place, the Canadian action comes as a meek response to a tremendous popular outcry against Washington's murderous "carpet bombing" of North Vietnam since Nixon's special adviser Henry Kissinger announced to the world in late October that peace was "at hand." The Canadian government's move came only after thousands of prominent Canadians—church-people, union leaders, academics, politicians and provincial NDP governments had demanded that Ottawa make a statement. It came only after the federal NDP caucus had threatened to present a much more strongly-worded motion itself. It came only after a range of other capitalist governments — including Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and others had condemned U.S. bombing in much stronger terms.

Secondly, the "new" Canadian government position is not fundamentally opposed to the aims of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. The motion itself "deplores" only the bombing of the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong then congratulates Nixon for ending it. No mention is made of the U.S. terror bombing throughout the rest of Indochina.

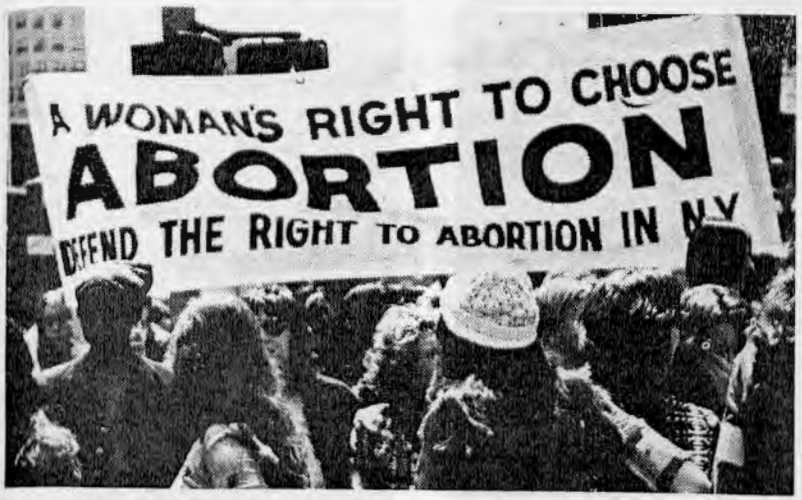
The government resolution carefully avoids the key issue in Vietnam — the denial of the Vietnamese right of self-determination by U.S. aggression. It fails to demand that the U.S. withdraw all its troops, planes, warships and materiel from Southeast Asia now.

Furthermore, the Commons motion condemns both sides in the war equally. It "requests all the parties involved in the conflict to refrain from acts of a warlike nature that could jeopardize the success of the present negotiations."

"We have not lost sight," External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp told the House, "of North Vietnam's continued military intervention

see page 3

labor Challenge #71 Jan 1973



NEW YORK WOMEN demonstrate against attacks on right to abortion.

Abortion Tribunal set

The following is excerpted from an article which appeared in the American socialist weekly The Militant.

by HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK — On the weekend of March 9-11, women and men from all over the U.S. and from other parts of the world will gather at Town Hall in New York City for a historic event: the International Abortion Tribunal.

Since 1910, when March 8 was first designated International Women's Day, this date has been one of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for their liberation. Today one of the central struggles of the international women's liberation movement is for the right of women to control their own reproductive lives.

Author Simone de Beauvoir has agreed to serve as honorary chairwoman of the Tribunal, which was called last July by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

Through the personal testimony of women, and through the evidence legal and medical experts present, the Tribunal will give a voice to the unheard millions of women around the world who suffer from laws denying them the right to control their own bodies.

The Tribunal will focus attention on the struggle to defend the liberalized abortion law in New York. This law, which has enabled 400,000 women from all over the U.S. to get legal abortions in the last two years, is under heavy attack from anti-abortion forces and the Catholic Church hierarchy.

These reactionary so-called right-to-life fnrces are already beginning to organize a campaign larger than the one they carried out in Michigan, where a referendum to liberalize the state's abortion law was defeated Nov. 7.

Fourteen New York state legislators have submitted a bill to outlaw all abortions except those to save the life of a pregnant woman. The current law allows legal abortion up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

In response to this attack on the New York law, WONAAC is joining with other forces to hold a news conference in New York City on Jan. 11. Among the individuals who have already agreed to speak at the conference are Gloria Steinem, Kate Millett, and Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City human rights commissioner.

WONAAC is also organizing women to testify at the Jan. 30 legislative hearings on abortion to be beld in Albany.

As part of the counteroffensive to defend the right to abortion in New York, the Saturday night session of the Tribunal will be a special rally in Snpport of the New York law. The evening will feature prominent individuals and entertainers.

labor Challenge

Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

Editorial

NDP is wrong to support Liberals

The Trudeau government's legislative intentions, as announced in the Throne Speech Jan. 4, did not justify NDP leader David Lewis's statement of conditional support.

On all the key issues mentioned, the speech was devoid of solutions. Unemployment? A promise to do something about it. Skyrocketing prices? A committee will study the problem. Aid to old-age pensioners? A vague promise of unspecified aid. Housing crisis? Basically "a straight rerun of proposals advanced in the 1972 Throne Speech" (Globe and Mail).

The speech stated that the keystone of the Liberal government's approach to economic matters will be action "to preserve and strengthen the market system upon which our economy is based" — and which, we might add, is the foundation of all this country's economic problems. As for the "corporate welfare bums' " ripoff of the public treasury, which the New Democratic Party made the theme of its election campaign — Finance Minister Turner has already promised his February budget will reintroduce the big corporation tax cuts announced in his previous budget last May.

Did Lewis and the NDP parliamentary caucus have additional information on the government's legislative program? If so, they have a responsibility to reveal it, to clarify and explain Lewis's statement that for the next few weeks the NDP will not introduce motions of nonconfidence. No secret negotiations with the Big Business parties!

The modesty of the Throne Speech promises is exceeded only by the large number of crucial issues it ignores. On the growing demand for taking abortion out of the Criminal Code, nothing. Not even a promise of federal financing of child care centers. For the Quebecois, nothing but a promise that the government will reaffirm its tokenist, diversionary "bilingualism" program. What about recognition of aboriginal rights, which Lewis states is an NDP priority? An eloquent silence.

Instead of action to reverse education spending cutbacks and expand education facilities, a cut in corporation taxes. As for the need to wipe extensive antilabor legislation off the books — not a mention. Yet many of these questions had been included by Lewis in his original list of conditions for parliamentary support of the government — a list so limited it led the Toronto Star editors to conclude: "The NDP leader evidently wishes to be reasonable, and his list is not a particularly radical one."

The NDP caucus' error is to see its "responsibility" as one of "making parliament work," as David Lewis told CTV, rather than using the party's strategic advantage in holding the parliamentary "balance of power" to challenge the government and expose the big business parties. The NDP's expression of conditional support of the Liberals hands Trudeau the initiative, just when the NDP should be launching an offensive both inside and outside parliament against the Tories, Liberals and Socreds, by advancing its own alternative policies which speak to the immediate needs and fundamental interests of the mass of Canadian workers.

If the NDP leadership feel the party cannot afford the financial cost of a quick election, and requires time to knit together its organization, they should so declare to the party's real "constituency," the working people. Such motives, wholly consistent with the workers' interests insofar as the NDP speaks for those interests, could justify a parliamentary maneuver. What is unacceptable is that the leadership motivate its parliamentary and electoral compromises in terms of political support to one or another capitalist party program.

Nor are the choices as rigid as Lewis pretends. The NDP could abstain on other parties' non-confidence motions, as well as frame its own non-confidence motions around clear anticapitalist proposals that the big business parties must oppose, thereby exposing their fundamental class interests.

One example of this latter course is the upcoming budget debate. The NDP can move to delete the corporate tax cuts — a motion the Tories must vote with the government to oppose, since they too back such cuts.

Another example is Vietnam. In the House debate on the government's motion to oppose the bombing, the NDP refrained from proposing its own amendments in the interests of parliamentary "unanimity." As a result, the party membership's views in support of the "Outnow" position and against any Canadian intervention through a "peacekeeping" contingent, etc., were not expressed from the parliamentary tribune. The NDP failed to expose Canada's complicity in the war.

The NDP should take advantage of the heightened interest in what the party has to say as a result of its parliamentary standing, to mobilize the mass of party supporters in extraparliamentary actions that confront the government, Liberal or Tory, around the key political issues of the day. A first step would be the participation of massive NDP contingents in antiwar demonstrations such as the Jan. 20 actions.

The "balance of power" position in parliament offers particular advantage to the party only if it is accompanied by a clear platform of class struggle and anticapitalist demands. Otherwise, it can serve as a further trap for parliamentary opportunism, and a blurring of the NDP's fundamental differences with the capitalist parties.

labor Challenge #71 Jan 1973

Natives defy James Bay land grab

by JOHN WILSON

An official of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development told a Quebec Superior Court hearing Jan. 9 that the native Indians and Inuit ("Eskimos") of the Ungava Peninsula in northern Quebec have a clear legal right to more than half the land in the province.

William McKim, director of the department's policy division, said that, with one exception, no land cession treaty has ever been signed by the District of Ungava's 6,000-8,000 Indians and Unuit with any government.

His statement sustains native people's claims to sovereignty over large sections of Quebec. The natives are invoking their aboriginal rights, that is, their rights as the original (and still almost sole) inhabitants of the bulk of Quebec territory, to halt the $6 million hydro-electric project planned by the James Bay Development Corp., controlled by the Quebec government's Hydro-Quebec.

This is only part of a nearly two-year old legal battle to stop the project. The injunction now before the court demands a temporary halt pending the disposition of another suit which disputes the constitutionality of the legislation setting up the project on the grounds that it ignores aboriginal land rights.

The massive James Bay project would divert waters from the far-flung drainage basins of the Caniapiscau, Great Whale and Opinaca rivers into the LaGrande river, involving the construction of four huge dams. It is supposed to result in the generation of 8 million kilowatts of power.

This project was launched with great fanfare by Premier Robert Bourassa in May 1971, despite his regime's total ignorance of environmental and social conditions in the area. Right from the beginning, Native leaders protested that dam-building, river diversions and extensive flooding would destroy their subsistence economy, based substantially on hunting and fishing, and thereby destroy their culture and way of life.

To make their case to the whiteman's society, government and courts, the Quebec Indian Association commissioned a task force headed by Dr. John Spence, a McGill University biologist. Its finding fully confirm the Natives' worst fears. Recruiting some of Canada's best anthropologists, hydrologists and biologists, Spence chartered a DC-3 for field work last summer and recruited six Indians in every settlement to conduct the first mass survey interviews ever done in the area.

The task force found that the 4 million kilowatt LG-2 dam, slated to be constructed 73 miles upstream from St. George would not only flood 1,300 square miles of land, but would destroy miles of rapids that sustain speckled and lake trout. Sturgeon spawning ground in the Sakami river would be wiped out. Landlocked salmon beds in Caniapiscau and Delorme lakes would be put under 50 feet of water. Beaver would be decimated and caribou migration would suffer disruption.

To demonstrate just how vital fishing and hunting are to the Native way of life, the Spence report found that wild game provides about 60 percent of the region's food supply and 90 percent of all protein.

Further, when all forms of cash earnings are accounted for, the community of St. George has a cash income of $1,534,100, or an average of $5,130 for a family of 4.8 persons. If this average household bought its food at the Hudson's Bay store — the only store there is — its annual spending for rent, food, heat and light would amount to $4,260, with precious little remaining for transportation, guns, fishing gear, house maintenance, storage freezers, ammunition and gasoline, let alone any amenities. And of course by no means every household brings in the estimated average income.

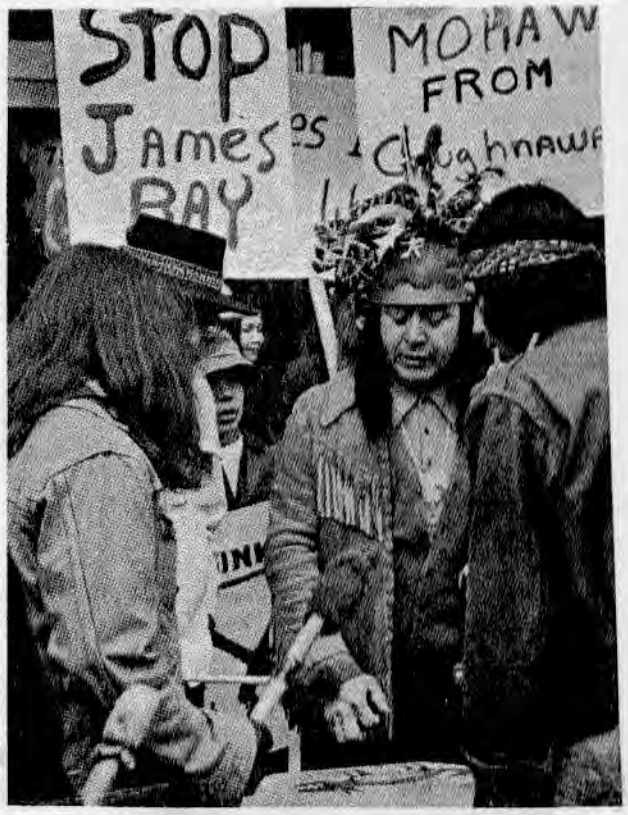
The Spence findings constitute the only detailed scientific knowledge to date of the economy of the James Bay region. An environmental study by the Quebec government and Environment Canada may not report until 1976! Despite that, tens of millions of dollars, mainly in roadbuilding, have already been squandered on the project.

Environmental destruction is already underway. Blasting has driven the caribou from the shores of Lake Caniapiscau and the La Grande River has been polluted by oil spills from airplanes and helicopters.

The Indians say, "Destroy the land, you destroy the animals, destroy the animals, you destroy the Indians." The destruction of Cree and Inuit culture is genocide by any definition — including the terms of the United Nations convention on genocide.

The James Bay project has been

→p.2



NATIVE DEMONSTRATION IN QUEBEC. Natives protest threatened destruction of their lands by James Bay project.

launched by the Quebec government in total disregard of aboriginal land rights and without any consultation with the Native peoples. Quebec City's attitude to the Indians is one of monumental arrogance and callousness. At a lunch-hour meeting last Octover, Bourassa replied to Indians talking about the destruction of their society by saying that the government frequently expropriates land for highways, etc., and so "this is not a special situation for you."

The federal government, which has jurisdiction over Native rights, funded the Spence study — but has largely left the Indians to their own devices in their battle with the Quebec government. Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien told parliament Jan. 10 that the Indians "are capable of defending their own rights themselves" — a cynical contrast to Ottawa's usual desire to intervene in and control the least details of Native peoples' lives. And in the court hearings federal officials have attempted to undermine the impact of the Spence report.

But the Native peoples are fighting back, and not just with lawsuits. Chief Max Gros-Louis, secretary-treasurer of the Quebec Indian Association declared in November that a mutual pact signed by Indians last year will make dealings for their land impossible. The agreement does not allow Indians to cede their land without the association's consent, and in turn it cannot make any deals without the approval of members effected. The association is willing to negotiate, said Gros-Louis, but the James Bay Development Corp. "will definitely not complete the project as planned."

The New Democratic Party, through federal MP Wally Firth, an Indian representing the Northwest Territories, has called for the establishment of a special House of Commons committee to deal with the question of aboriginal land rights.

The NDP must use its position in parliament and outside to demand complete and unconditional recognition of aboriginal land rights by all levels of government, and the sovereignty of the Indian and Inuit peoples over their own territories. If there is to be any further development of Native territories, it must be development in the interest of the native peoples and under their control, not in the interests of a ruthless drive for profit on the part of the corporations and their political instruments.

Increase trade with Cuba

by THE EDITORS

Jan. 2, 1973 marked the 14th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, the first socialist revolution in the Americas. Labor Challenge salutes this anniversary and expresses its solidarity with the Cuban people.

For over 12 years the Cuban people have had to brave hardships brought on by a concerted American economic and diplomatic blockade. While this attempt to strangle the revolution has failed, it has nevertheless marred the progress of Cuba's economic and social development.

Last month a delegation of three Canadian members of parliament, Liberal Ralph Stewart, Conservative Heath Macquarrie, and NDPer Andrew Brewin, visited Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Ambassador to Canada. Brewin reported his findings in an article in the Jan. 8 Globe and Mail. He affirmed Cuba's success in eliminating unemployment, prostitution, commercial advertising, racial and sex discrimination.

But he pointed out that Cuba is still, compared to Canada, an underdeveloped country and suffers from lack of access to mutual trade with advanced countries. Brewin called on Canada to expand its trade with Cuba by agreeing to purchase more Cuban goods and rectify the current imbalance in Canada-Cuba trade. Presently Cuba buys some $60 million worth of goods annually from Canada, compared to only $10 million worth of imports to Canada from Cuba.

Brewin's proposal is important because it breaks from the traditional Canadian policy of trying to promote its goods in Cuba (and other underdeveloped countries) without any concern for stepping up imports of their products. Brewin calls on Canada to buy more Cuban products as a way of aiding Cuba's development as well as a means of stimulating Canadian exports to Cuba.

Cuba is handicapped in selling its main product, sugar, to Canada because of the Commonwealth preferences which still favor fascist-like South Africa even though that country is no longer in the Commonwealth. Canada must reorient its sugar imports away from South Africa to Cuba. Channels should be opened by the government to import other Cuban products — items such as citrus fruits and sea foods which Canadian workers need to have at much cheaper prices — so as to enable Cuba to expand its imports of Canadian manufactures.

Brewin also proposes the opening of a direct commercial airlink between Canada and Havana. Such a step, reversing the Canadian decision to break off direct air contact ten years ago, will not only facilitate better trade relations, but will affirm the right of Canadians to travel to Cuba free from harassment from U.S. State Department policies.

labor Challenge #71 Jan 1973

Devlin appeals for Irish solidarity actions

The following appeal from Bernadette Devlin is for international actions to commemorate the anniversary of the Derry "Bloody Sunday" massacre in Northern Ireland, Jan. 30, 1971. Demonstrations are being planned for Jan. 27-28 in a number of Canadian centers. Devlin is a member of the British parliament and a leader of the Irish civil rights movement.

Sunday, Jan. 28, 1973 will be the anniversary of Derry's Bloody Sunday.

On Jan. 30 last, British para-commandos murdered 13 peaceful demonstrators during an attack on a mass civil rights procession in Derry.

The murder of this 13, and of all those victims of the British Crown Forces who have died before or since, is part of a calculated policy of the British government to destroy the combativity and confidence of the nationalist population in the North of Ireland. Specifically, it was a last desperate attempt to shore up the corrupt Tory-Unionist regime at Stormont (the Northern Ireland parliament).

It failed. Stormont has been suspended.

But British aggression in Ireland continues. Since the abolition of Stormont, the British propaganda service has attempted to give the impression to the world that Britain is playing the role of arbitrator between two warring Irish tribes. Whitelaw, the British Gauleiter, is depicted as a gentle and impartial referee.

The reality is different.

The essential conflict in Ireland is between the Irish people and British imperialism, supported by native reaction. The specific form it takes is an attempt by Britain to suppress the struggle of the nationalist population, and to crush its vanguard, the Irish Republican Army.

What this means is the continuation of concentration camps, the imprisonment and torture of thousands of political prisoners, daily harassment and mass intimidation of the total Catholic population — highlighted by the situation in West Belfast, where over half the total male population has been arrested, questioned, or had their homes raided by the British Army. When people in this area talk of the British Army of Occupation, it is no idle slogan. It is the literal truth. Andersontown today is as brutally and effectively occupied as Warsaw was under the Nazis.

But the people have not been cowed. By demonstrations, by armed struggle, by rent and rates strikes, they display their continued combativity.

They must not fight alone. The international anti-imperialist movement must rally to the defense of the heroic people of Ireland.

The weekend of Jan. 27-28, 1973 provides an opportunity for a worldwide weekend of activity to focus world attention on this struggle. I appeal to all revolutionary groups, to the student movement, and to the workers' movements throughout the world to organize on that weekend, in every major city in Eurnpe, America, Australia, Asia and Africa, demonstrations, protest meetings, pickets and other activities to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, self-determination for the Irish people, the ending of internment and release of all Irish political prisoners, and to show solidarity with those socialist and republican forces struggling against British imperialism in Ireland.

Bernadette Devlin, M.P.

Bernadette Devlin

Labor Challenge #71 Jan 1973

Lead campus struggles

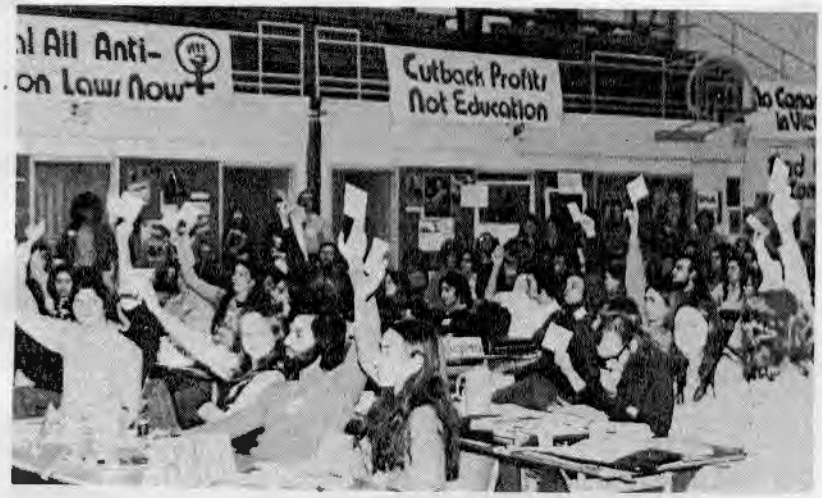
Young Socialists set major tasks

by RICHARD THOMPSON

An ambitious campaign of activities and socialist education were projected at the 1972 convention of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, held Dec. 28-31 in Toronto. The delegates discussed the deepening radicalization of all sectors of Canadian society, especially youth, and outlined the major tasks before revolutionary socialist youth in the coming year. The convention gave full support to building the Jan. 20 international demonstrations against the Vietnam war, the campaign for repeal of the abortion laws and the independence struggle in Quebec.

The 1972 convention was the largest ever held by the YS-LJS, with well over 200 persons attending. For about 60 percent of the YS-LJS members it was their first convention. While most other left tendencies on campus have dwindled in the past two years the YS-LJS has become deeply embedded on the campuses and played a leading role in many student struggles. YSers led socialist election campaigns on campuses from coast-to-coast averaging 15 percent of the vote and at Trent University won a majority of the student union executive. In Quebec the LJS is known and respected throughout the nation. In the recent CEGEP (community college) struggle against the "Regime Pedagogique," an attempt to attack spending and outlaw student protest, two CEGEP papers reprinted the LJS leaflet and LJSers received invitations to speak at several CEGEPS.

AL CAPPE. Young Socialists' executive secretary.



A view of the Young Socialists' convention.

A central aspect of the convention was its internationalism. Revolutionaries from France, Australia and the U.S. attended and gave greetings. The convention also received written greetings from sections or sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in nine other countries.

The International Report, part of which will be printed in the forthcoming February Young Socialist, was given by Don Tapscott. The report took up the grave dangers confronting the Vietnamese revolution which has been at the center of world politics for nearly a decade. The detente between imperialism and the workers' states of China and the Soviet Union has weakened the position of the Vietnamese.

The report underlined the concessions being forced on the Vietnamese in the nine-point "peace" proposal. The proposed settlement cannot be supported by revolutionaries. It is being forced on the Vietnamese by the military might of imperialism and it denies the fundamental right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people. The betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by China and the Soviet Union poses more sharply than ever before the need for a Trotskyist leadership on a world scale. The report reaffirmed support to the antiwar slogans of "U.S. Out Now" and "No Canadian Intervention" and stressed the central importance of building mass actions to defend the Vietnamese wherever possible.

The International Report also discussed the experiences of the Latin American class struggle since the Cuban revolution and the failure of the strategy of guerrilla warfare. This section of the report outlined the continuing mass struggles of workers and students in Latin America and the necessity of building Leninist parties to lead these struggles to the socialist revolution.

The Quebec report by Paul Kouri, national organizer of the LJS, affirmed the YS-LJS's support for the independence struggle of the Quebecois nation. Kouri outlined the relationship between the national struggle and the class struggle in Quebec. The report examined the workers' upsurge of last April-May and underlined how the national oppression of the Quebecois impels the class struggle forward. The workers' upsurge also inspired the Quebecois student movement which has undertaken broader struggles than any time since 1969 and given the LJS new openings to reach and

→P.2

recruit student militants.

The women's liberation report given by Mary Trew took up the nature of women's oppression. Because this oppression is rooted in class society the growth of feminism, of women as women struggling against their oppression, fundamentally challenges the capitalist system. The report pointed to the continued growing interest in feminism and to the new developments in the feminist movement like the mushrooming of women's studies courses on campuses across the country. The YS-LJS sees the central task as building a mass feminist movement which can effectively challenge the oppression of women in all its aspects. The report outlined the important role that the campaign to repeal the abortion laws can play in bringing women into struggle and beginning to forge such a movement.

The two central reports to the convention were the Political Report presented by executive secretary Al Cappe and the Organizational Report given by Kathleen Dalton.

The political report analyzed the roots and nature of the youth radicalization. The main inspiration of the new radicalization has been the rise of the world revolution, especially in the colonial world. Youth have always been the first to revolt and the rapid expansion of education has intensified this trend by bringing together hundreds of thousands of youth, giving them time and access to radical ideas. As a result student struggles have the potential to become a massive revolutionary force.

The Political Report discussed other left groups and affirmed the YS-LJS's opposition to Canadian nationalism in all its forms.

The report also took up the present situation in the student movement. It pointed to the contradiction between the deepening radicalization of students and the relative "lull" in activity on the campuses and high schools. The two major reasons for this "lull" are the temporary dowoturn in revolutionary struggles around the world, most sharply expressed by the detente in Vietnam and the crisis of leadership in the student movement since 1968-69. The report then explained the instability of this situation. The deepening crisis of imperialism will continue to provoke new struggles around the world. Capitalism cannot solve its fundamental contradictions. One example given was the cutbacks in education spending which cannot be brought in without provoking massive struggles by students.

The Organizational Report outlined the tasks before the YS-LJS. Central to everything is building the YS-LJS as a democratic-centralist youth organization to lead the youth radicalization forward and win the best militants to Trotskyism. The report condemned the split by nine members of the LJS in Montreal last summer who are now regrouped in the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire. By deserting the ranks of the Fourth International the splitters violated the basic principle of the unity of revolutionary forces.

Dalton's report went on to outline plans for building the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement and the national struggle in Quebec. Central to all of this work of the YS-LJS will be an increased emphasis on socialist education. A series of concrete plans for this were outlined including expanded circulation of the socialist press, campus and high school election campaigns, socialist educational conferences and educational tours.

As well as the reports of the outgoing leadership there were counter-reports on a number of questions by a tendency. Prior to the convention there had been seven months of discussion of all the key issues in which documents representing different views were circulated and discussed in all the locals. By ensuring the fullest possible democracy in discussion the YS-LJS is best able to unite in action when decisions are reached.

The tendency differed on international and organizational questions. They also argued that in Quebec the LJS should re-orient itself to workers struggles and the trade unions as counterposed to its involvement in the student movement and in the various struggles against national oppression. They criticized the YS-LJS's involvement in the abortion campaign. In the counter-political report they expressed the view that the struggles of women, and the demands of oppressed nationalists and students will lose their importance when the working class begins militant struggle, as it has in Quebec. After a full discussion by the delegates the reports of the leadership were adopted by a large majority.

KATHLEEN DALTON, YS executive council member, gave organizational report.

The last item of the convention was the election of a new leadership, the Executive Council. The YS-LJS is a youth organization which is constantly recruiting and educating new Trotskyist cadres. The success of the past two years was summed up by the new leadership: two-thirds of the new Executive Council members were not on the previous EC, the average age is just over 21 and it is overwhelmingly student.

Student struggles against the education cutbacks flare up in Ontario. Here York University students vote to stay the night to demand that the university administration make available student grant cheques [so they can participate in the province-wide fee strike] and that the administration take a stand against the cutbacks. A day earlier students at Glendon campus also occupied, demanding release of their grant cheques. After two days the administration backed down and released cheques. The same day, occupations also began at Western and Windsor. 200 students at Western confronted Ont. Premier Davis demanding that the fee hike be rescinded.

A few days later, on Jan. 16, 500 students at Brock University voted to occupy the administration building demanding that 16 profs be rehired and an end to the cutbacks in education spending. York students' call for a student moritorium to discuss cutbacks has been supported by Brock and is gaining support.

labor Challenge

Where ultralefts go wrong

Revolutionaries and the NDP

by JOHN STEELE

The New Democratic Party and its predecessor, the CCF, have posed revolutionaries in Canada with a thorny problem for many decades. For generations, working class militants have been compelled to work out an orientation of one kind or another to them. For example, the Trotskyist movement, the League for Socialist Action, since the founding of the NDP in 1961, has advised socialists both to support the NDP and to participate in building a class struggle opposition to its reformist leadership. A similar position was held for many years in relation to the CCF.

Today, having a correct orientation to the NDP is even more important for socialists. The NDP is now the government in three provinces and holds the balance of power in parliament. Its Ontario wing has recently experienced a convulsive witchhunt against its left wing by the leadership, a split in the left wing, formerly the Waffle, and the formation of the Left Caucus.

OLD MOLE

The problem of the NDP is the topic of an article in the Jan. 15 issue of Old Mole, organ of an ultraleft grouplet of the same name based on the University of Toronto campus. Members of the Old Mole have been known to claim an affinity with the ideas of Trotsky and Trotskyism. But the article by Juliet Fox in the second issue of their newspaper (the first issue since September) bearing the intriguing title "Fifty-nine years after the death of the Second International — the embalmed Social Democracy of the NDP," has little in common with with the analysis defended by the Canadian Trotskyists, the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

Fox fails to define correctly what the NDP is. The Trotskyist view is that the NDP is a labor party, that is, a party based on, rooted in and the party of the working class, today's expression of working class politics in English Canada.

The NDP cannot bring about socialism. This can only be achieved with the leadership of a mass revolutionary workers party — a party with a Trotskyist program organized in the tradition of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the Russian revolution in 1917. This the League for Socialist Actinn is attempting to build. The NDP, on the other hand, has a reformist procapitalist program and leadership rooted in the trade union bureaucracy that sits astride the labor movement.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS POLITICAL ACTION

What is the meaning of the NDP within working class politics? It is both a mass expression of independent working class political action and at the same time an expression of the reformist illusions that the working people of this country have. For these reasons, the NDP is the central fact of working class politics in English Canada.

This is not the view presented by Fox. She refers to the NDP as a "social democratic party." The value of this designation is dubious. Historically, it refers to political formations which developed within the European working class movement and in Russia. There the workers' movement began as a political movement which later organized the trade unions. Most of these parties underwent splits following World War I and the Russian revolution, with the revolutionary forces emerging from them to form new parties. What remained were the conscious reformists — the Social Democrats.

In calling the NDP a social democratic party Fox simply states the obvious. The NDP is reformist. The outlook of its leadership is one with that of social democratic parties in Europe. This does not tell us enough. What Fox avoids here is a class characterization of the NDP.

The NDP lies more in the tradition of another type of development classically represented by the British Labor Party — a mass working class political formation built by the trade unions. Similar types of formations exist for example in New Zealand and Australia.

Fox evades the question further by stating that the NDP is not a workers' party, but merely a party of the workers.

NO CHARACTERIZATION OF NDP

If Fox means by this that the NDP is not a revolutionary party, a workers' party in that sense, she is correct. But if Fox means by this that the NDP is not a party of the working class, a class party, then she is wrong. This appears to be what the Old Mole article is in fact saying. The NDP is referred to as "an uneasy alliance of the union bureaucrats and the petty bourgeois leadership (of the NDP)" and the "left flank of bourgeois control." Absent is a clear characterization of the NDP as a party of the working class, or any clear characterization at all.

The NDP is viewed from this one-sided, narrow and fundamentally incorrect view. The article states that the NDP has a dual character. This is correct. But the dual or contradictory character of the NDP is reduced to the "uneasy alliance" between the trade union bureaucrats and the NDP leadership which Fox suggests is continually threatened by the pressures on the trade union brass from their ranks.

While there may be some truth to this schema, it is just that — a schema which does not accurately reflect what the NDP actually is.

The contradictory role of the NDP is not expressed, as Old Mole suggests, in the fact that the NDP fights for reforms within capitalism while the majority of its supporters are workers. This could be said of many bourgeois parties for example the Democratic party in the United States.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

The contradiction of the NDP is much more profound. It is rooted in its class character as a party which is the property of the trade unions, yet confines the struggle to reform when the objective needs of the workers require revolution.

Old Mole suggests that the problem with the NDP is that it fights for reforms. But the problem is that it fights for reforms as the be-all of the struggle outside of and against the perspective of social revolution. This means the party is constantly confronted with a profound tension between the workers struggle which threatens to go beyond reformist limits and the program of its entrenched leadership which rests on a strategy of class peace and a principled commitment to bourgeois parliamentarism and the capitalist state.

The challenge before revolutionary socialists is to project in the NDP the crucial struggle for an alternative class struggle leadership for the working class — an objective need posed before the class by the existence of the NDP as a party of the working class that is unable to resolve the class question. The fight to "win the NDP to socialism," "build a class struggle

⇒ P.2

leadership," "fight for socialist policies," "build the left caucus" expresses this task.

WAFFLE EXPERIENCE

The Waffle experience demonstrated this process. It was not "somewhat strange" (as Fox puts it) that those with a class struggle perspective chose to stay and fight when the Waffle leadership split from the NDP. The whole experience of the Waffle, the struggle for its defense, and its weaknesses posed in life to many thousands of workers the leadership question. The Left Caucus which emerged from the struggle, although at this point weaker numerically than the Waffle, poses this question too, in a politically sharper fashion.

The possibilities for the development of the caucus evident at the December convention of the Ontario NDP is a strong reminder of the central role of the NDP in working class politics and the fact that for some time to come the struggle for a new leadership will receive its sharpest expression in the New Democratic Party. This is precisely why the League for Socialist Action advocated the stay and fight perspective.

Should the orientation to the NDP be a long or short one? The question posed by Old Mole is a false one. For over two decades the mass expression of working class political action has been through a labor party — a trade union party. It is not unreasonable to expect, and all the evidence points to this, that this course will continue for some considerable time to come. The task before revolutionary socialists is one of building the revolutionary party and of finding the means to address the class and pose the alternative within the present forms of independent political action of the working masses.

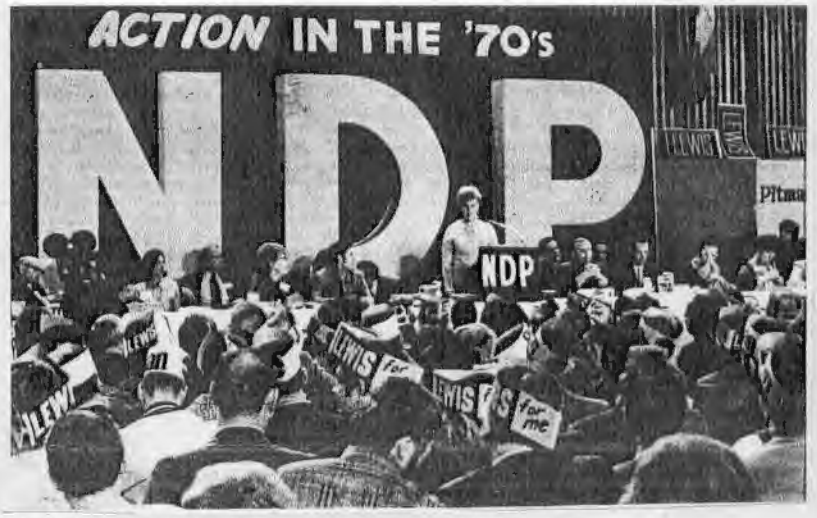
Can an orientation to the NDP "lead to dangerous deformations and capitulation to reformist deviations"? If this question posed by Fox is a reminder that revolutionists can lose their bearings and class outlook in the struggle, it may have some merit. The NDP and the trade unions contain many such persons, testifying to the enormous pressures coming from a working class that has not broken with reformist illusions and its entrenched bureaucatic leadership that expresses them.

INDEPENDENT ACTIVITY OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The best safeguard against such pressures is the independent activity of those aspiring to build a Leninist party. The League for Socialist Action is such an organization. Through its independent activity within such areas as the feminist movement, the antiwar movement, the student movement, the trade unions and the circulation of its press, the LSA, which represents the future of the working class movement, is able to provide now a "pole of attraction" to those persons who have reached revolutionary socialist conclusions. Through its orientation to the NDP, the League for Socialist Action is also able to participate in the ongoing and unfolding struggle to build a class struggle alternative to the present working class leadership — a process which is inseparable from and vital to the building of a mass revolutionary workers party.

photo by Jeff White

OLD MOLE'S analysis is contradictory and unclear.



HOW TO DEFINE IT? A clear characterization of NDP is essential to revolutionary strategy. Above, a view of Ontario NDP's 1970 leadership convention.

advertisement

New Releases

FROM PATHFINDER

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION [1931-39] by Leon Trotsky, cloth $11.45, paper $4.75

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY, 1932-1933 by Leon Trotsky paper $3.75

SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC by Frederick Engels paper $1.05

GUEVARA'S GUERRILLA STRATEGY: A CRITIQUE AND SOME PROPOSALS by Peter Camejo pamphlet $.60

THE CZECHOSLOVAK FRAME-UP TRIALS by Caroline Lund, paper $0.40

FROM NEW LEFT BOOKS

THE KAPETANIOS: PARTISANS AND CIVIL WAR IN GREECE, 1943-1949 by Dominique Eudes cloth $11.25

POLITICS AND HISTORY: MONTESQUIEU, ROSSEAU, HEGEL AND MARX by Louis Althusser cloth $8.25

RATIONALITY AND IRRATIONALITY IN ECONOMICS by Maurice Godelier cloth $13.45

AVAILABLE FROM YOUR LOCAL VANGUARD BOOKSTORE AT:

1208 Granville St. Vancouver
No. 6 10518 — 82 Ave. Edmonton
No. 728 416 Main St. Winnipeg
334 Queen St. West, Toronto
226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montreal

Feb 6, 1973

Dennis has raised an important necessity. The Waffle MISC is in deed an ipmressive operation. It appears that they have 600 members and are recruting now at the rate of 100 a month. Their course on Political Economy now its sedond session has taken place ---has really jelled into something quite phenomenal...imagine 350 peeople coming to a class and paying $1.50 admission and I think with well over 250 signed on for all sessions at L0.00
Dennis got talking to some--he is convinced that the bulk afe NDPers--that with the split at London what we had in effect was the bulk of the left Waffle going to MISC --but not out of the NDP--maybe slightly more to the side line of the NDP--but the Waffle MISC is still NDP. Bennis thinks this is important to get through--that all our work in the NDP with Waffle did not at all boil down to the tiny ultra left Red Circle but that it still goes on----in MISC.
More impo rtant we have to draw up something to the effect that our movement has to move in on MISC--[illegible] something along the line that we cannot carry our oreitnation to the NDP and ignore MISC since so many left wingers within the NDP are oriented, not to the left caucus, but to MISC-which is formally outside of the NDP.

This of course presents big problems that obviously the leadership and the league is quite unprepared to face--the question of Canadian nationalism and our characterization of it. We have nothing to say that allows us to move into MISC circles--all we have to say is that nationalism in an advanced capitalist country such as Canada is reaction ary which of course cuts right across the essential significance of MISC
But I agree we should present the challenge to the PC--when giving a factual report.

Had an evening with Ernie and Jess--Jess was very silent. ..on Feb 3.
Ernie made a strong appeal to me to work with the new leadership--he said he cannot imagine me outside of the leadership of the Cdn section. He backed up his appeal w th some comments as to how he told them off after the trade union postal workers discussion. I had left as had Vern. Vern underwerte the leadership but it just showed how out of touch and mechanical is his approach. He wants to back up this leadership and is worried about my opposition. He of course after doing this little service was completely out side of the discussion. ignored. It appears that Ernie told them off--of course it was stremely embarassing for him to have been brought in just to get them off the hook of having to admit that I was correct and nothing new could be said by anyone that could save their face. They used Ernie to save face. What was worse they held firm right up unt il the very last and reversed themselves in quite an unprincipled and sudden way. At any rate he told them that he had absolutely nothing to say other than what I had already sai said in my short written contribution and that he was quite shocked that they were not able to recognize to concede to my correct criticism
It was the next mor ing that I had that talk with John in the apratment when I affirmed to him that I was not going on the edit board(I didn't bother arguing about their scandalous establishment of Canada and the Crisis as the line replacing the 1968 conventi ion resolution) that they were in essence operating as a clique and I was not part of such an operation--that it was necessary to take the politiclap problems to the PC that the PC had to become an operating body which discussed the problems of the movement --that the bureau was really only an expediting body, preparatory. Was the Subday Feb 4th meeting of the PC an attempt to respond to these perssures- -at anyrate it marked distinct progress--there was some discussion.
The question of the edit smae up-- This was an important discussion which I should think over more.--our line on the NDP suffice it to say at this time [illegible] Dick and co are tr ying to establish a new criterea for our handling of the NDP. It appears that wecare going to handle it as we would handle as Lenin handled the SD parties when they claimed to be Marxist and revolutionary and as Lenin handled them for the period after the CP splits from them The NDP must under no circumastances support the government--and this means that it is a matter of principle and we must expose it as a violation of principle for the NDP to not vote against the speech from the throne--the same will go for the budget speech--it is a matter of principle. They have to vote against the ogovernment on such ocassions--irrelevant if they bring down the government--here they hedged a bit maybe the MP's could abstain--but of course this would also bring down the government. [illegible] did that the NDP would v olate principle b

not voting the downfall of the govenment--we are establishing new formal principles.

—30

Notes Feb 7, 1973

re the Jan 28 meeting with Ernie Vern myself--Phil, John and Rom---really quite disgraceful . They brought Vern in to sustain their view--he is worried about any criticism of the leadership ,,wants to hold t em up almost you might say at any cost. So he said his peice completely underwiritng their false line and then was completely ignored--very embarassing. Perhaps I should talk to him about how he was used--he is sensitive and must have in someway see how it went--or at least must have been shocked by the rticle withits complete reversal of line when it came out the next Thursday.

At the PC meeting my criticism had some considerable effect--both John and Dick said that there was some validity in it. They in essence put all the blame on Phil the author and his advisr Ron. It was even embarassing--they sort of dumped Phil. However John's perform ance at the Jan 28 meeting was different . After Vern spoke in defense of the Phil article John also made a series of comments differentiating himself from my criticisms. ..in effect supporting the old LC line. Ron's conduct was scandalous. First he was quite confused and apparently incapable of defending the LC line. I pressed him to read Bill Mc's letter which I had only read in part and uder pressure that afternoon at the PC meeting. He couldn't bring himself to read it. It was in point form--he would read a bottom lesser one then jump to another and all the time make negative comments attack the points. I eventually forced him --very obvious--to read it more ser ously and then coached him to read about the Toronto meeting of local presidents that demanded a tour of expanation of the offer and filing that a vote against the offer. This latter part was not reported in the article that appeared in next issue of LC which completely reversed line without admitting that it did in any shape of form

The meeting was dragging on and was stalemated. Then suddenly Phil made the statement of reversal of line. ..out of the blue you might say--didn't really have anyth g to do with the line of argument till then. Ernie took my position down the line,added not anything at all. But they did not appear in the course of the discussio to give any thing except that Vern shut up and John R pulled back and did not persist in identifying or trying to use Vern--he also shut up and left the ball in Phil's hands. Phil made the change. The clinching argument---my little comment that if you support the offier you cannot seriously carry a struggle against the leadership which is going to cement them back in. Interestingly enough they tended to characte-ize the Quebec opposition whic obviously reflected nationalist opposition as antiunion. This little image which I said caught us in a circle from which we could not get out was picked up by Phil with a few words and we brought the meeting to a close. Ernie had said something that obviously the PC has to decided --but the PC did not---this meeting did as the paper was going to press and there was no PC meeting until after it was out and mailed by several days.

Oh Sunday Feb 4 there was a meeting of the trade unionists--must check it out with Hugh

-30-

I will have to rethink my feeling about not taking on the Quebec document in light of the pressure of Alain and the Quebec comrades that they dont need my criticism of their onesided evaluation of the Trade union brass. I was thinking of limiting my criticism to the preamble and Quebec nationalism. However here is the Feb 4 1973 LC off now The front page talks of defending the imprisoned Big 3 Que union leaders. Refers to an article on page 9. But page nine has two aeticles one quite different from the othe and neither dealing with the imprisoned TU leaders except indirectly and in such a way that no militant after reading them would give a shit about the imprisoned--let them rot in jail. The one article by Alain rakes the Tu s for doing nothing about the anti-labor law. It is written before the box which shows them maki g very very good words. When I mentioned this to Phil he said that Dick was very uneasy about Alain's article that it in his opinion was actually wrong and he chopped out parts of it. Well first there is the problem of the paper. Obviously we suddenly became "aware of the imprisone TU leaders and put in a head --but there was no copy of anykind or of any use. That is what I told Phil--the material in LC is of no use for a campaign of solidarity with the imprioned unionists. The editors are missing the ball--not aware of and unprepred to really defend the ue trade union leaders(they only have ugh and I guess Stu's resoluti ion to their localDouglas-This results in our members being unprepared

But there is also the situation in Quebec--what is happening to us--what is Alan's dis agreement--that Dick senses and can this be ignored without endangering all our uebec operation. Can I keep silent ? without jeopardizing our whole operation there.

-30-

MISC

Feb-10/73

At the Metro Toronto assembly discussion of Red Circle

There was a large element of anxiety expressed along the lines that the fruit of all our work in the NDP over the past period was the Red Circle.
This evaluation constituted a large part I think of Peter's and Waynes anxiety that they must be recuited. The smallness of the results and the radical turn of Red Circle seems also to be causing some of the NDP activist comrades to feel that in part they missed the ball --they did not have a high enough Marxist -Trotskyist profile over the latter period.

This exprience has also tended to firm up t e RCT position that all our work in the NDP has been riddled with opportunism and adaptationism--false in trying to build a broad left wing--you have to shoot the works and so what if you are expelled without anything.
There is only one {problem / challenge}----The Waffle continues to exist. It exists in MISC and its incredibly large forums--three so far-with attendance of 350 persons---with MISC having about 600 members and recruiting at 100 a month. --the forums presneting in a popular way basic concepts of MA xism . The MISC {the whole Waffle experience contained within it } — the fruit of all our work-continues to live on , on what might say is a higher scale independent of the NDP but still very much a part of it . In the MISC'S indpendent form of existence in some ways you might say the left has been raised to a higher level of existence than we proved able to do it with the Socialist Caucus etc...but semi outside of the NDP--whereas we put the highest premium on (1)--stay inside the NDP and (2)join the LSA.

The big challenge that also confronts our leadership is to admit that they were totally and dead wrong on their projections for the Watkins-Laxer element----you will recall their schematic line----the nationalism of the Waffle--(in an advanced capitalist oppresor nation) is reactionary---that they would go right.

The MISC presents us with an extremely complex problem. It both challenges the value and worth of the Left Cuacus in the NDP and the independent revolutionary vanguard formation the LSA-LSO. As things are right now it tends most to challenge the function and worth of the Socialist Left Caucus as it is predominantly NDP leftist--but apparaently at this time and for some period not prepared to carry on the day to day struggle in the NDP to build an opposition to the leadership.
Its big problem as MISC is to work out aprogram for an indpendent and socialist Canada. The Marxism that it is promoting at the forums is abstract

The big problem confronting the LSA-LSO is its absolutely wrong position on Canadian nationalism--which bars it from getting a hearing at MISC

PC meeting Febraury 11, 1973 opened up on the MISC experience in a very modest way. Dennis presented a report,rather prepared a report but was superseded by a report by Gary of a meeting that he had with Dick S and Wayne(who have been attending MISC forumson political economy. Obviousl that Dennis a member of PC and attendant of the forums should have given the report and certainly have attended the discussion with Gary--however that is how the clique works. Gary said nothing about the embarassing challenge the whole thing puts to us--we projected that it would go right and here it is legitimatizing Marxism to well over 300 NDPers--something we were never able to do--or never did I should say. Ixxxx

62

FOUND IN 1973 (Feb)

THERE IS NO PEACE

Peace is not at hand in Vietnam, not even if the negotiators in Paris finally arrive at an agreement along the lines of the 9 points published last October. There can be no peace until the Vietnamese people who have struggled for so many decades are finally granted their self-determination, their right to control their own destiny free from foreign domination.

The 9 points do not hold out the prospect of self-determination. First, they confirm the regime of Thieu in office -- a puppet regime without support of any significant section of Vietnamese society. This is the regime against which millions of Vietnamese have struggled and so many have died. Now Thieu, under the projected agreements, is to retain power, backed by a one million man army, equipped and directed by the U.S.; his air force is now the third-largest in the world. The army and air force can be constantly re-equipped with the most up to date weaponry by the Pentagon.

Secondly, the agreements violate the very goal of the Vietnamese struggle -- self-determination -- by their provisions for continuing foreign interference through truce supervisory forces which may include Canada. The Vietanese people have a long and tragic experience with such forces. When the fruits of their struggle were stolen from them in Geneva in 1954, and their country divided in two, a supervisory force under an International Control Commission was created. It was not long before intervention began, with the ICC (and Canada) playing an indispensable role on Washington's behalf.

Thirdly, the American military machine remains in place, ready to resume operations at a moment's notice. In fact, U.S. forces are withdrawing only a few miles, to Thailand, and onto the ships of the Seventh Fleet off Vietnam's shores. The projected agreements work to block Vietnam's self determination.

For thirty years the Vietnamese have battled with a heroism unmatched in history, against a succession of foreign masters -- Japanese, French, British and American. This struggle against imperialist domination is a struggle for social progress, to win democratic rights, land for the peasants, economic development; for an end to famine and dictatorship. These goals cannot be achieved without the expulsion of foreign imperialism from Vietnam, and, together with it, the ousting of its local servants, the native ruling class. This is why the colonial struggles today for self-determination point towards socialist solutions. The working masses of the colonial nations must expel foreign rule and its local agents and take power in their own hands. This is in fact what happened in the northern half of Vietnam. The same process has developed in Cuba, China and elsewhere.

That is also why Washington has refused to turn back from the most horrendous methods of modern warfare, waging a war against an entire people, a war of My Lais: it is determined to defend its international profit system against an ongoing revolution whose goals can be achieved only through socialism.

HISTORIC BETRAYAL OF MOSCOW AND PEKING

Nixon has proven unable to defeat the Vietnamese in the field.

But he has proven able to set back the struggle with the assistance of the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, who applied maximum pressure on the Vietnamese to settle on Washington's terms; their pressure was decisive because they are the suppliers of arms, foodstuffs and materials to the Vietnamese.

When the revolutionary forces launched a powerful offensive that left the Thieu regime reeling, Washington responded by a huge escalation of the air war. Moscow and Peking have made no effective response. The Vietnamese have received none of the modern weaponry which would permit them to strike back effectively -- weaponry which the U.S.S.R. and China possess in considerable quantity and which has even been supplied to capitalist Egypt.

It is clear that Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow effected a deal. In return for the virtual recognition of China and greatly increased trade and other links with both China and Russia, the bureaucrats have agreed to blackmail the Vietnamese into abandoning their goals.

CANADA: NOT A PEACEMAKER IN VIETNAM

Since the onset of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Canada has been a supporter of Washington's aims. The Pentagon Papers reveal among other things that Blair Seaborn, a Canadian member of the ICC, delivered U.S. State Department threats and ultimatums to Hanoi; Canadian ICC members consistently covered up the facts and underwrote the U.S. violations of the Geneva accords. This will be Canada's role again. Canadian forces are to be sent to Vietnam to impose a peace which cannot last because it violates everything the Vietnamese have fought so long to obtain.

Canada is not neutral in the struggle of the colonial peoples for their freedom. An imperialist power in its own right, with its own foreign holdings, an internal colony (Quebec), and troops stationed in 29 countries, it is in military partnership with the U.S. through the NATO and NORAD pacts.

Antiwar forces now face a major challenge: to campaign vigorously against the sending of any Canadian "supervisory or peacekeeping" forces to Indochina. Among other things, they must demand tht the NDP Federal Caucus -- with its balance-of-power position in the House -- break its silence and follow tHe direction of the Ontario, Alberta and B.C. sections of the party which oppose the sending of Canadian troops.

There is no peace. The Vietnamese need international solidarity in support of their right to self-determination more than ever. The antiwar movement, which has played a crucial role up to now, must not slacken its efforts.

ONE POINT PEACE PLAN: U.S. OUT OF VIETNAM NOW

WITHDRAW ALL U.S. FORCES FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA

NO CANADIAN INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM

FULL SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

For information contact:
League for Socialist Action, 334 Queen Street West. Tel: 363-9618

Protest jailing of Quebec labor leaders! / 9

labor Challenge

#72 Feb 5 1973 Vol 4 #2

Canada moves in

NO PEACE IN VIETNAM

Canadian soldiers arriving in Saigon

Canada must get out / 2

World protests demand U.S. OUT NOW / 3

Flashback: Canada in Korea / 6-7

Repeal abortion laws now!

by THE EDITORS

The U.S. Supreme Court decision of Jan. 22, declaring abortion legal in the United States, is an important victory for the world-wide struggle for women's right to abortion. It will provide a new impetus to the struggle in Canada for repeal of the abortion laws.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision is based on women's constitutional right to privacy, and states that no law can compromise that right. It overturns anti-abortion laws in 46 states, and declares abortion the constitutional right of women, through the first 24 weeks of pregnancy.

The Court rejected the argument of opponents of the right to abortion, who claim that the unborn fetus has the "right of life," explaining that the fetus is not a person. Only abortions after the 24th week of pregnancy, when the fetus could be viable, remain open to restriction by law.

This ruling is an historic victory for the women's liberation movement that has rapidly gathered strength in North America and around the world in recent years. This feminist upsurge has challenged deep-rooted sexist prejudices which sustain anti-abortion laws, and has mounted a strong offensive for women's right to abortion.

Demonstrations, rallies, tribunals, petitions — such united actions in many countries have made the movement visible, and thrown opponents of women's right to abortion on the defensive. It was the rise of the feminist movement, and of its actions for the right to abortion, which forced the conservative U.S. court to legalize abortion.

The scope of resistance in the U.S. to the Supreme Court ruling remains to be seen — the U.S. struggle for the right to abortion is not over.

→p 3

p 2

Editorial

Canadian forces out of Vietnam!

The United States and North Vietnam completed the signing of the Vietnam ceasefire agreement Jan. 27. The Canadian government moved quickly to join the International Commission for Supervision and Control, the force established under the agreement, which also includes Poland, Hungary and Indonesia. On Jan. 28, 130 Canadian soldiers left for Vietnam. They will be followed by a second contingent, bringing the total Canadian force to 290 men. A Canadian destroyer is heading for Southeast Asian waters to be on hand if it is required.

External Affairs minister Sharp has committed Canadian troops for a 60-day "trial period," but government officials expect that the term will be extended.

There is no peace to keep in Vietnam. At best, there may be an unstable ceasefire with the relationship of forces favoring imperialism. The agreement, under which the U.S. has promised to stop its bombing and withdraw its ground forces, does not end imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

The agreement does not resolve the social, economic and political problems that are at the root of the Vietnam war. There are two armies and two governments in South Vietnam — each representing opposed class forces. On one side is the corrupt Thieu dictatorship, representing the landlords and capitalists and backed by world imperialism. On the other is the National Liberation Front Provisional Revolutionary Government, leading the peasants and workers in their struggle for freedom. The Vietnamese population have been fighting for their liberation for decades. It is unlikely that they will give up that struggle now.

Washington is proceeding to back up the Saigon government with millions of dollars worth of military hardware. Thousands of U.S. "civilian technicians" will be "advising" Thieu's troops. The U.S. fleet of warships and aircraft carriers remains off the Vietnamese coast. The U.S. air armada of B-52s remains in place in Thailand. And the bombing of Laos and Cambodia is still going on.

Canadian forces in Vietnam will serve the interests of U.S. and world imperialism. As a "peacekeeper" in Korea, the Congo and elsewhere, Canada's record is that of counterrevolutionary intervention against popular forces. In Vietnam, as a member of the International Control Commission for 18 years, the Canadian government has consistently fronted for the Pentagon.

A former U.S. marine intelligence officer, David Marr, revealed Jan. 27 that a Canadian member of the ICC supplied information about anti-aircraft emplacements near Hanoi to the U.S. military intelligence in 1964.

With Canadian forces moving in, some who had previously opposed the war are coming behind the intervention. The parliamentary caucus of the NDP has not raised one word of protest against Canadian entry. NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin returned from a visit to Hanoi in early January to invoke the North Vietnamese stated desire that Canada be part of the "supervisory" force. Writing in the Jan. 27 Toronto Star, Brewin states that Canada "cannot refuse as a good citizen of the international community to participate in an observer force." He went on to suggest that the force be put under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

NDP leader David Lewis said Jan. 24 that he had no objection to the sending of the force, even before a parliamentary debate. This comes despite the clear opposition of the ranks of the party — expressed by the B.C. and Ontario provincial convention which unconditionally opposed Canadian troops going to Vietnam.

Other forces in the antiwar movement have similarly come behind Canadian intervention. The more conservative wing of the movement, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Voice of Women, have also justified their support for Canada's entry on the North Vietnamese government's support for the ceasefire agreement. After all, they say, Canada has been formally invited to participate by Hanoi.

The fact that the North Vietnamese have signed the agreement and invited Canada to join the "supervisory" force does not change the nature of the agreement. It is an imposed settlement, forced on the Vietnamese by the U.S. genocidal bombing and the betrayal of Moscow and Peking.

The Canadian antiwar movement is not under such pressure. It has no reason to drop its demands centered on defending the Vietnamese right to self-determination, and opposing all foreign imperialist intervention.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR VIETNAM!
U.S. OUT OF ALL SOUTHEAST ASIA NOW! NO CANADIAN INTERVENTION — WITHDRAW CANADIAN FORCES NOW!

labor Challenge

Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

Published fortnightly. P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ontario. Subscriptions: One year (24 issues): $4.00. By first class mail $5.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Challenge. These are expressed in editorials. Second class mail registration number 2401.

labor Challenge

#12

p. 3

Repeal abortion laws now!

Yet an historic victory has been won — a victory which will give new confidence to women around the world, and new impetus to their struggles.

How will the Trudeau government respond to the example of the U.S. decision? The same basic human rights cited by the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down anti-abortion laws are proclaimed in Canada's "Bill of Rights," which the Trudeau government and Canada's Supreme Court claim to uphold.

The restrictions of Canada's anti-abortion law are of the same type as those which have been swept aside by the U.S. ruling. Canada's Criminal Code rules abortion to be a crime, except where it is determined that continuing the pregnancy would endanger the life or health of the women or "unborn child," — the decision to be made by a hospital committee of three or more doctors.

Thousands of Canadian women are thus blocked from access to legal abortions, leaving them the choice between the danger of illegal abortions, seeking an abortion in the U.S., or accepting forced childbirth.

The Trudeau government has consistently stood in the way of women's rights in this country. The continued mobilization of women is necessary to force Trudeau to respond to the U.S. precedent by acting now — to repeal the abortion laws.

For two years Grace MacInnis, New Democratic Party MP, has been demanding a debate on the abortion issue in each session of the House of Commons — without success. Following the U.S. decision, MacInnis rose once more to challenge Justice minister Otto Lang to permit such a debate now, so that the law can be changed. Lang replied curtly that no such debate was scheduled, and that he saw no need for it.

The federal New Democratic Party stands for abortion law repeal — a position established by vote of its membership convention. The NDP, which holds the balance of power in the House, must use it to demand that the debate be held immediately and that the law be repealed.

A significant movement for the right to abortion has grown in Canada, led by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. It has announced plans to step up the campaign for repeal, in response to the U.S. victory. Actions for the right to abortion can show that Canadian women will no longer tolerate denial of their right to control their bodies. Abortion must be removed from the Criminal Code now!

In brief

NDP GOVERNMENTS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST GAYS

Two provincial New Democratic party governments have recently indicated disturbing prejudice against the emerging movement for the civil rights of gay persons.

According to the Winter 1973 issue of The Body Politic, a Toronto gay liberation newspaper, B.C. Labor Minister William King rejected a request from Vancouver Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE) that the province's Human Rights Act be amended to protect gay people by outlawing discrimination according to "sexual orientation." King stated: "I find it rather difficult to conceive of a situation where a homosexual would be discriminated against unless his tendencies were a matter of public knowledge." He added, "I am personally of the opinion that homosexuality . . . should not receive the benefit of legal sanction."

And in Manitoba, the NDP government has turned down applications by two Winnipeg gay groups for private club charters. In explaining the government's action, Attorney-General Alvin Mackling said that while homosexuals should not be "hounded and pilloried," "Our concern is that such groups ought not to be clothed with the same rights and respectability as other groups."

New Democrats and all supporters of civil liberties and human rights should strongly protest these reactionary statements and actions. GATE says it plans "further action in confronting the province's newly-elected NDP government to abide by the humane philosophy which is their supposed creed."

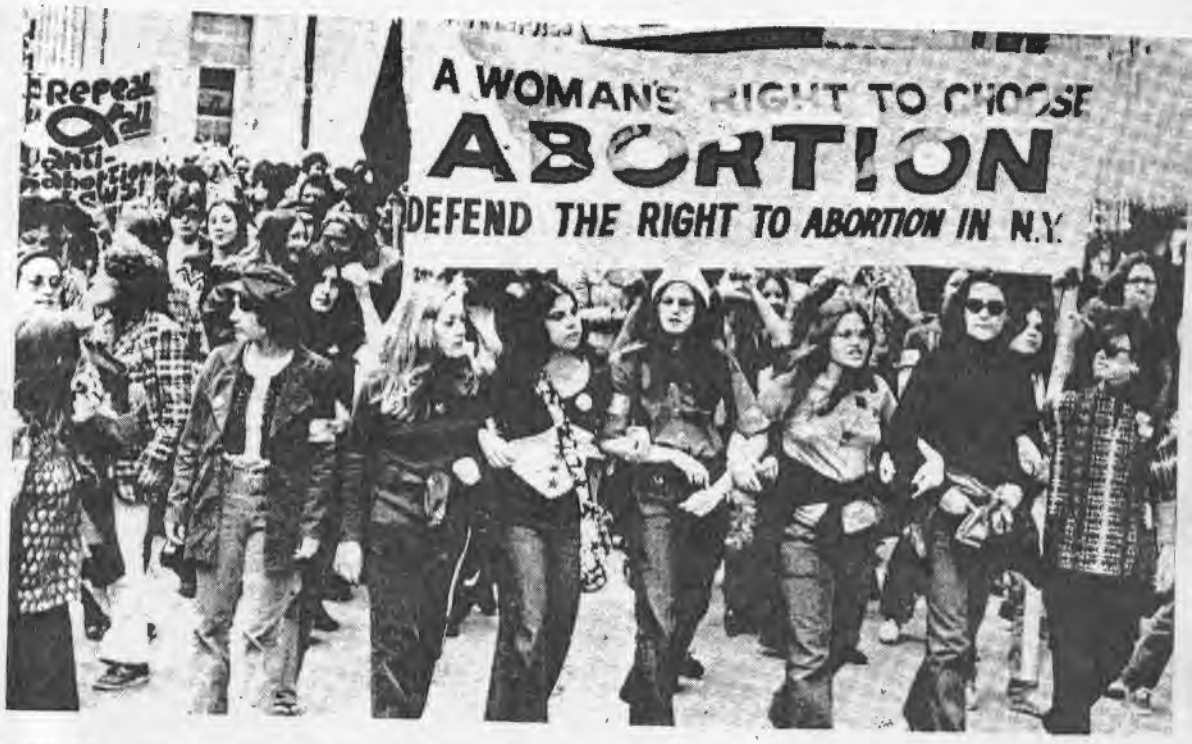
labor Challenge

#72 Feb 1973

Canadian abortion campaigner explains:

Meaning of U.S. abortion victory

(In light of the Jan. 22 ruling of the United States Supreme Court, overturning all state anti-abortion laws, Labor Challenge interviewed Joan Campana, staff organizer and financial director of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), on the importance of this victory to the Canadian abortion rights movement. The interviewer is Karen Hicks.)



VICTORY IN U.S. Mass actions played important role in making abortion a right the Supreme Court could not deny.

Labor Challenge: What does the U.S. decision mean for the international abortion movement?

Campana: Well, it's an historic victory! A tremendous inspiration for women all around the world. When you look at the premises the ruling was based on, its significance becomes even clearer. The U.S. Supreme Court said that what was paramount in this question was a woman's right to privacy. We would phrase that as her right to choose. They also torpedoed the strongest anti-abortion argument put forward – that a fetus is a "person." This sets a powerful precedent for women internationally. It certainly aids our struggle here in Canada.

There's something else that's important for us in Canada, too. One of the cases the Supreme Court ruled on came from Georgia and was challenging Georgia's restrictive abortion law. This law had very many similarities to the present Canadian law. Among other things, it rested on the use of hospital committees composed of a number of doctors. The Court struck down this law, ruling it interfered with a woman's right to choose. That's another powerful precedent for us in Canada.

There are many valuable lessons the international movement can draw from on how the victory was won in the U.S. The most important, in my opinion, was that this decision was won as a result of a long, hard fight waged by women in the U.S. The test case which led to the Supreme Court's decision was only the straw that broke the camel's back. It was the determined and united action of the women and the movement they built that was the real force compelling the Supreme Court to act. So the lesson is clear. We have to continue all our efforts here to build the same kind of powerful, united movement — to bring our own victory into sight!

Labor Challenge: What was the response of the Canadian Women's Coalition to the decision and what impact will it have on the Canadian repeal movement?

Campana: We were elated when we heard! The first thing we did was send a telegram of congratulations to our sisters in the U.S. We held a special emergency meeting here in Toronto and started to move out on a number of projects. We held a press conference, which both the newspapers and TV covered. And we called an emergency meeting of the cross-Canada coordinating committee of the CWC to be held Feb. 4 in Saskatoon.

On the impact of the decision here — it immediately rekindles all the doubts and legitimate anger about the Canadian law. We've already seen the openings it gives us. People all over are discussing the ruling. There have been articles on it in newspapers right across the country. Those who support repeal of the Canadian laws are provided with a tremendous opportunity to step up our campaign, to demand that the Canadian government act now!

They're really on the spot to reply. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled in favor of this right of women. Is the Canadian government going to deny this same right to women here? As soon as the CWC heard of the ruling, we demanded the Canadian government respond immediately and repeal the laws.

Labor Challenge: How have they responded?

Campana: Grace MacInnis, NDP member in the House and a long-time ally of the abortion movement, raised the question in Parliament the day after the U.S. decision. She pointed out that the government has promised a debate on abortion for several years. She pointed to the recent Gallup Poll which shows that a majority of Canadians favor repeal.

The government's response was intolerable. Justice Minister Otto Lang replied that he saw no need for a debate, nor any need to repeal the

→ p. 2

laws. Perhaps if he had to face an unwanted pregnancy he might see the need! Perhaps if he had to wait in anguish while a hospital committee sat in judgment on his future, he might see the need!

We have been forced to accept the indifference of the Canadian government for far too long. We are calling on the NDP, whose program supports repeal and which holds the balance of power in the present House, to join us in compelling the government to immediately accept its responsibility to the women of Canada. The government must hold the debate and repeal the laws.

Labor Challenge: What is the Canadian Women's Coalition doing in response to the U.S. decision and its impact in Canada?

Campana: We've gone into a real flurry of activity. The first thing that is coming up is the emergency meeting of the cross-country coordinating committee of the coalition which we're holding in Saskatoon Feb. 4. One of its major discussions, and the main focus of our activity over the next few months, will be on the cross-country abortion conference we are planning for Toronto March 17 and 18.

The conference, coming when it does, will be an important and exciting event, in itself a powerful protest action. It will map out campaigns and projects for the coming months. It is shaping up to be one of the biggest and most broadly representative gatherings of women that has been held in Canada for some time.

Already sponsors include such prominent Canadians as Adrienne Clarkson, Peter C. Newman, Dr. Harriet Christie of the United Church of Canada, the January general meeting of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, a special women's conference of the Ontario Federation of Students and others.

One of our first activities is a cross-country tour which I am making for the CWC. The tour will rally and unify repeal forces across the country to act together in light of the U.S. victory and the openings in Canada. It will pull powerful, cross-country forces in behind the conference.

Labor Challenge: What specific actions are you discussing to broaden the movement?

Campana: In the past we've held demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, speak-outs. We've circulated a petition calling for repeal. We carried all kinds of actions to make the government act. We intend to escalate these activities, involving larger numbers of Canadians in this struggle. We're investigating a legal challenge to the Canadian law. We're discussing direct action calling on parliament to act. In Vancouver, the CWC is planning an abortion tribunal later this month to hear the testimony of women who have suffered under the present law and to indict the government and those who uphold the law.

We've waited too long! We have fresh confidence and inspiration from the victory of our sisters in the U.S. now. We know women can fight for their needs and win them. That's what we intend to do!

Morgentaler prosecuted

On Jan. 19, only days before the U.S. Supreme Court delivered its historic verdict declaring abortion a woman's constitutional right, Dr. Henry Morgantaler a leading fighter for abortion law repeal, was indicted once again in a Montreal courtroom for performing an illegal abortion.

Morgantaler demanded that the charge — similar to other charges against him which are still before the courts — be clarified. The charge does not mention the name of the woman involved, nor that she was pregnant, nor the specific nature of the illegal act. The judge granted the motion for details, but insisted Morgantaler utter a plea. The doctor pleaded not guilty.

The preliminary inquiry on this new charge has been set for Feb. 19.

The defense of Morgantaler against this scandalous new legal assault will be an important part of the renewed campaign for taking abortion out of the criminal code.

labor Challenge #72 Feb 1973

B.C. women seek gov't action

by RACHEL WOODHOUSE

VANCOUVER — Since the November B.C. NDP convention voted that the NDP government set up a ministry of women, many women's gronps, such as the Status of Women Council, have come out in support of the proposal and have held discussions about its possible aims, goals and functions.

The question of the ministry has provoked considerable discussion and differences within the party. Although the NDP convention ratified the proposal for a women's ministry, Premier David Barrett lost no time in stating to the press that such an idea would be "low on my list of priorities." The government's "Throne Speech" made no mention of a women's ministry; instead, a proposed Bill of Rights has been touted as a substitute, a "women's rights bill."

Vancouver-Burrard MLA Rosemary Brown, speaking in the Throne Speech debate, strongly urged the need for a full Ministry of Women's Rights, over and above the Bill of Rights.

A women's meeting at the upcoming session of the NDP provincial council will discuss the proposed ministry. Plans are being made for women to travel to interior and northern areas of the province to assist in planning regional meetings and other activities on the question. At NDP constituency meetings in the coming weeks, women members will be introducing motions re-affirming support for the ministry and questioning party MLAs about it.

All these activities point to growing support given to the ministry by both women members of the party and women in the community. It is expected that the new monthly publication produced by the Provincial NDP Women's Committee, Priorities, will do much to inform women in the province on the progress of the struggle for the ministry and to provide a forum for debate and analysis on this and other questions of women's liberation.

A Lower Mainland regional conference of women from Vancouver-area constituencies Feb. 10 will give NDP members an opportunity to discuss the function of such a ministry.

For example, the ministry could fund and assist existing childcare centres, initiate province-wide conferences and investigations to study childcare needs, and introduce legislation for a massive program of setting up centres to meet such needs.

On abortion, the ministry could join in the fight to force the federal government to repeal the present laws. In the meantime it could work for the accreditation of many more hospitals, for the establishment of hospital-linked and separate abortion clinics, and for a publicity campaign to inform women of their rights to abortion even within the framework of the present restrictive law. A ministry could set up facilities to aid women in their struggle against discrimination in employment and education; to support and fight to enforce equal pay for equal work in employment, etc.

The conference will conclude with a strategy discussion on how to win the ministry. It looks like a big struggle. While a ministry cannot solve the problems brought on by women's oppression in capitalist society, it can undertake important steps in defense of women's rights. It can become a useful weapon in challenging the NDP government to respond to the demands of the women's liberation movement.

Subscribe now!

clip and mail to LABOR CHALLENGE, Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ontario
( ) Enclosed is $4.00 for one year (24 issues)
( ) Enclosed is $1.00 for an introductory subscription (6 issues)
This is a ( ) new subscription ( ) renewal
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zone ____ Prov ____

labor Challenge #14 Feb 1973

Quebec gov't mounts attack on labor

(The following article is abridged from the January-February issue of the Quebec revolutionary-socialist newspaper Liberation. Translation by Labor Challenge.)

QUEBEC LABOR LEADERS face imprisonment for role in 1972 general strike. United action by union movement is necessary for their defense. Above, leaders of three Quebec union federations, Laberge, Pepin and Charbonneau.

by ALAIN BEINER

After a year of unprecedented workers upsurge, 1973 threatens to be a period of government offensive against the Quebec trade unions. The increasingly serious crisis shaking the labor movement challenges the ability of the unions to reply to the blows of this offensive.

On Dec. 21 Labor Minister Cournoyer had presented the national assembly with his "Christmas present" to the working class. Entitled "Law assuring the welfare of the population in case of a labor conflict", Bill 89 includes a series of very complex articles claiming to protect "essential services." Among other provisions, this government bill declares that any strike is outlawed in the public services (not only the public and parapublic sectors at the provincial level, but also the municipal employees and the workers in all aspects of public and private transport, maritime, air or rail) as long as "essential services" have not been "defined" by "agreement" between the parties or by the labor tribunal.

According to the draft law, the government can end any strike "or lockout" in the public services to "verify if this conflict endangers health, security, public welfare or the education of a group of pupils." Such conflicts could be referred to the National Assembly and to "commissioners of disputes" whose decision will be binding on the parties.

Business columnist . Claude Beauchamp wrote in La Presse Dec. 26: "The right to strike . . . is to all intents and purposes abolished in the public sector . . ."

Since the crushing of the public and parapublic strike last April, and since the crumbling of the big May wildcat — for lack of leadership and political perspectives — the government thinks it is able, in the interests of maintaining the "social peace" that is so necessary to imperialist investments, to eliminate the gains which were won from Prime Minister Lesage in 1965 by the organized labor movement.

Encouraged by the weakening of the CSN and the right-wing split which produced the Centrale des Syndicats Democratiques (CSD), and having succeeded through Law 78 in smothering the October strike at Hydro-Quebec, the Quebec government is now trying to consolidate a relationship of forces which is more and more favorable to itself.

This attempt to use Bill 89 to legislate or formalize such a setback of the Quebec working class comes after months of threats by Cournoyer, who was studying the possible reaction of the union leadership before proceeding. In this sense the presentation of the law, and its imminent adoption, are only the beginning of the government offensive, while the decisive test of forces will take place when the government tries to apply the law to a strike movement.

But it is certainly no accident that the government chose this time to present its anti-strike bill, six days after the three labor leaders had buried one of the principal achievements of the struggles at La Presse and in the civil service strike, that is, the united action of the three centrales, FTQ-CSN-CEQ.

In a Dec. 15 Statement, the union leaders cancelled the important meeting of the executives of the three centrales set for the 18th and 19th of the same month and postponed to an "undetermined date" the setting up of a permanent common front which was to elaborate in the short run an overall strategy for the language struggle and for regional political action.

This decision not only convinced the government that the time was ripe for the boss offensive, but it is in flagrant contradiction with the aspiratinns of the membership expressed so well in the May uprising. The dismantling of labor unity is the fallout from the raiding campaign in the construction industry which was carried out against the interests of the union members.

The violent confrontations dnring this annual period of "recruitment" imposed by the government and construction bosses, and the disgusting public slander campaign between the CSN and FTQ ended in lawsuits for damages of $6 millions. Charges of involvement in organized crime were bandied about on all sides, and demands were made on the government to intervene and investigate conflicting unions.

The government offensive was also encouraged by the refusal of the three labor leaders to rely on the force of the working masses which could have been mobilized in a defense campaign against the one-year sentence which weighs against them. While the three leaders decided to appeal (their sentences) to the Supreme Court of Canada, following the rejection by the Superior Court of Quebec, they

→p 2

appealed to the membership to remain calm and not to react in the same way as in May, thereby confining the defense campaign within the narrow framework of the bourgeois courts . . .

This confusion in the labor movement at the moment of the boss offensive has already provoked grumblings among important groups, as demonstrated by the Jan. 12 statement of the Federal Bureau of the National Federation of Quebec Teachers. This resolution, adopted on the initiative of the Professors Union at the University of Quebec in Montreal (SPUQ), denounces the conduct of the CSN and FTQ leaders, and underscores the necessity of returning to common fronts in the struggle against Bill 89, in order to "commit all the union forces to oppose any intervention of the State in the union organizations."

. . . The militant actions and declarations of the fall of 1971 and spring 1972 were, for the leaders, only means of pressuring the bourgeois regime to get certain gains in the framework of maintaining capitalist exploitation, rather than elements in an overall plan for the liberation of the workers.

Three things are essential if the unions are to be defended, and each is an important element in the task of building a new leadership in the unions:

1) **Trade union liberty**, against any intervention of the State in union affairs, against any vote imposed on the unions, for the withdrawal of the charges against the three leadera, and against any law limiting the right to strike or controlling wages;

2) **Trade union unity**, for the re-establishment of the reinforcement of the Common front, leading to the complete unification of the Quebec union centrales;

3) **Independent political action**, the creation by the centrales of a mass labor party able to struggle for a workers and farmers government, and for national liberation.

Que. labor denounces Bill 89

MONTREAL — The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) has pledged to mobilize all its forces in the coming months in struggle against Bill 89.

Meeting in Quebec City Jan. 17-20, the Confederal Council, highest leading body of the CSN between conventions, voted that if the bill is adopted "in whole or in part" the public service workers in both public and private sectors will use all methods to fight it, including if necessary illegal strikes or refusal to negotiate under the anti-strike law.

The 150 delegates, representing local central councils and trades federations, also voted to approach the other three union centrales (FTQ, CEQ, CSD) to discover "the possibilities of common action" in struggle against Bill 89 — "even if," as CSN president Marcel Pepin put it, "in other areas we are going through some hard and complex struggles."

In his opening remarks to the council meeting, Pepin stressed the importance of this campaign: "If the government succeeds in getting Bill 89 adopted, it will have abused its majority in the House, sabotaged the democratic system and established a regime with a totalitarian tendency," he stated.

According to the Montreal daily Le Devoir, the "strongest appeal" for united action against the bill came from a representative of the Montreal Construction union, in a sector which has just experieneed some of the worst raiding between the federations in many years. Michel Bourdon stated "It is essential to achieve the unity of all the labor bodies and of the whole working class to fight this bill which compromises the very existence of trade unionism. To refuse to carry out this unity would be objectively to play the government's and bosses' game against the working class."

labor Challenge #72 Feb 1973

Quebec factory occupation

by ROBERT DUMONT

Faced with a management ultimatum to close the factory, the workers at Regent Knitting Mills in Saint-Jerome, Que., voted Dec. 22 by a large majority (90 percent) to end their occupation and accept a proposed agreement.

The 280 workers had taken over the factory three weeks earlier to protest the bosses' failure to keep an agreement with their union, the Textile Workers (FTQ-CLC), to postpone scheduled layoffs and rehire all 300 workers already laid off. The workers were also demanding that the company reopen departments of the firm that it had closed in Saint-Jerome and reinstalled in Montreal.

The occupation-strike ended in a partial victory. Of the 130 employees who had not yet been rehired — most of them women — the company agreed to rehire at least 40. (About 60 had already indicated they did not want their jobs back. (The comapny also agreed to reopen three departments in its Saint-Jerome operation, and to establish job parity between the Saint-Jerome and Montreal factories in these departments. The two factories had 10 employees and 92 employees respectively in these departments. The Montreal workers' wages are considerably lower, thanks to a sweetheart contract with the right-wing Confederation des Syndicats Democratiques (CSD).

The agreement is valid until April and negotiations are slated to reopen in February toward a new contract.

According to Paul-Andre Boucher, the 27-year-old local union president, there was no alternative to ending the occupation. The majority of the local executive were convinced management was prepared to close the plant which, Boucher noted, would mean 400 more jobless in the streets.

"We made some important achievements," the local leaders told Quebec-Presse, the trade union weekly. "Without too much difficulty we have used the occupation tactic, a new and extraordinary arm. We made a step forward toward control of production. It's a stage. You don't win everything in one blow and you can't make the revolution all alone!"

In fact the occupation won wide support in the local community, where a support committee was formed, and from workers and students elsewhere throughout Quebec. With the assistance of University of Montreal students the strikers published a popular newspaper to carry their struggle to the population. The Canadian Labor Congress, under no constitutional obligation to pay benefits to the strikers who were "wild-catting," paid out some $12,000 in "strike" allocations, according to Boucher.

"WE ARE OCCUPYING OUR FACTORY" says Le Journal, paper of workers at Regent Knitting Mills.

NATIVES OCCUPY INDIAN AFFAIRS OFFICE

Some sixty, supporters of Norman La Rue, chief-elect of the Kamloops, B.C. Indian band, are staging a sit-in in the Kamloops offices of the Department of Indian Affairs. The sit-in began Jan. 25 after Ottawa dissolved the band council elected hours before La Rue and other elected councillors were to be sworn into office.

La Rue and his supporters are protesting the government's seizure of the band records; they suspect that the books were taken to prevent the new council from checking up on deals made by the old council and approved by the department. They have also expressed fears that negotiations have been underway without a vote by band members on inclusion of the reserve and its industrial park into an amalgamated Kamloops municipality, ordered by the provincial government to take place by June 1.

La Rue was chairman of the Fred Quilt Committee which played a prominent role in obtaining a second inquest into the death of Chilcotin Indian Fred Quilt after charges that he died at the hands of the RCMP.

Challenge #72 Feb 1973

Student actions across Canada

Cutbacks spark occupations

by HOWARD BROWN

Cutbacks in student aid, increases in tuition fees and the slashing of education spending, particularly the firing of professors: these issues are moving students into action across the country.

The roots of the present crisis of capitalist-controlled education may be discovered quickly enough by reading between the lines of the federal Peitchinis Report or any of the various provincial reports which inform capitalist educational policy in the present period.

The rapid expansion of higher education over the past decade was the product of capital's need for highly skilled workers. Yet from the beginning that expansion proceeded anarchically, with the pace of enrollment constantly running ahead of the provision of facilities.

With the onset of recessionary conditions, capital discovered it had over-projected its needs for most types of university graduates, indeed that the labor market was glutted with highly skilled workers forced to seek unskilled jobs.

If big business is at the best of times loath to sacrifice its profits to the financing of education, in the present period it cuts back, eliminates the "frills", while attempting to thrust the costs of education onto working people, and through increases in tuition fees, onto students.

Students once again fall victim to an educational system which far from serving their needs, is manipulated in the interests of capital, subject to all the anarchy of the capitalist business cycle.

STUDENTS FIGHT BACK

The anti-student offensive is cross-country in scope. And students are fighting back. When in the first semester initial cutbacks were announced at Regina campus, students began an occupation which over the course of the struggle involved more than 300 students. Each of five general meetings attracted from 800 to 1,000 students, who demanded a halt to the cutbacks. When the university attempted to abolish the near-student-faculty-parity situation in the social sciences, all the better to introduce their austerity measures, the struggle broadened to include the demand for Parity in the Social Sciences.

TRENT UNIVERSITY STUDENTS protest fees and cutbacks.

While the right wing student council attempts to bury the struggle in dead-end negotiations with the provincial governments it has been left to the Young Socialists and other student militants to lead the struggle forward.

Then on Jan. 22 massive new cutbacks were announced. While tuition fees are to be increased by $50, twenty-five professors and nearly all teaching assistants are being fired (affecting nearly every department), and a freeze is being implemented on building construction. With two months of struggle behind Regina students, the situation is an explosive one.

QUEBEC STRUGGLE

Meanwhile the Quebec government is in the midst of its offensive against students. Feb. 15 has been established by the Universite du Quebec a Montreal as a deadline for payment of back tuition fees in the amount of more than one million dollars.

Students at the Universite de Montreal and Sherbrooke face a similar situation. Five hundred students met at an initial meeting at the Universite de Montreal to protest university attempts to collect back tuition. One hundred thousand copies of a special supplement to the UdeM paper are being printed to rally support across the province. on Jan. 27 UQAM students went on strike, with the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes playing an important role in the leadership of the struggle.

With many Quebec students having **de facto** enjoyed free tuition over the past three years, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is demanding that this become the norm. "In a so-called democratic society," they argue, "education should be a right, not a privilege." Noting the under-representation of the working class within the student population, the LJS calls for the abolition of tuition fees and the payment of a "student wage."

In Ontario, over the past year more than 15,000 students have been involved in demonstrations or rallies protesting educational cutbacks and increased tuition fees. More than 40,000 students have expressed their opposition to them in referendums.

In the brief period since the Christmas break there have been a

→p.2

number of significant developments.

On Jan. 9, students at Glendon College organized an occupation to protest the university's decision to hold back Ontario Student Award Plan (OSAP) cheques until second term tuition fees were paid. Almost simultaneously similar occupations took place at York and the University of Western Ontario. The administrations' actions in these cases were clearly an attempt to cut across the fee strike called by the Ontario Federation of Students.

Within days of the occupations, the OSAP cheques were released.

BROCK OCCUPATION

On Jan. 17, students occupied Brock University's board room and the offices of President James Gibson to protest the firing of 16 faculty members. The occupiers, soon 200 strong, used the 13th floor of Brock Tower as an organizing center for the mobilization of students. Fifteen hundred students met in a mass meeting to establish the central demands of the struggle — no cutbacks in courses or faculty. A partial victory was won when the administration agreed to re-hire five professors. But Brock students remain alert to further cutbacks.

On Jan. 19 President T.E.W. Nind of Trent University announced massive cutbacks to meet Ontario College of Education Guidelines. These include cuts of 35-40 staff, the amalgamation of the major science departments, amalgamation of French and Spanish and the complete elimination of German.

The Young Socialist-led student council responded by calling a mass meeting of 500 students who endorsed the demand "Stop the Cutbacks — Tax Big Business", and committed themselves to resisting the government offensive.

Student commitment to resist the cutbacks has been demonstrated over and over again in action. Trent, York, and Brock have called for a province-wide coordinated mass action of students at Queen's Park, to rescind the fee hike and stop the cutbacks.

OFS STRATEGY INADEQUATE

Yet the 100,000 member Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) remains reluctant to act. In the first place, the demands raised by OFS are completely inadequate. OFS requests that the age of independence for receipt of student loans be lowered from the present 25, that the recently increased loan ceiling under OSAP be re-established at its former level, and that increases in tuition be deferred, pending consultation. The only tactic of resistance the right wing OFS leadership has advocated is a partial fee strike, clearly conceived as subordinate to its attempt to "negotiate" with the government.

Recent events show even more clearly the inadequacy of the OFS program and strategy. The real interests of students have been articulated best by the slogans: "Rescind the Fee Hike" and "Stop the Cutbacks". These slogans, clear and uncompromising in their defence of students, have proved already their capacity to mobilize students in struggle. The demand "Tax the Corporations," put forward by the Young Socialists and adopted by students at Brock, Trent and York serves to cut across propaganda of the capitalist press that the cutbacks are in the interest of the average taxpayer. The OFS continues to concede to the government's feigned concern with the "average taxpayer".

While the OFS tactic of a fee strike is legitimate, it is no substitute for the mass action of students. While the Nov. 22 demonstration of 500 students at Queen's Park against the cutbacks and tuition fee hike was formally called by the OFS, key elements in the OFS leadership, particularly University of Toronto's Students Administrative Council, abstained from building the action.

MASS ACTION NEEDED

The seriousness of the government offensive, and the resistance offered by students make both necessary and possible a second mass province-wide action at Queen's Park in defence of students' rights. Yet the OFS leadership continues to sit on its hands.

To this point in the struggle, the leadership has been left to rank-and-file militants, with the Young Socialists playing an important cross-province leadership role, particularly through the YS-led student council at Trent, and YS student councillors on other campuses.

labor Challenge #72 Feb 1973

Argentina

Workers front program

We are reprinting here the program of the Frente Obrero (Workers' Front), a united front of working class candidates formed to contest the coming elections in Argentina. This program was adopted by a national conference of the Frente Obrero, attended by more than 1,000 activists and leaders of the workers' movement. It hopes to field some 2,200 candidates for the election. A full report of this conference was printed in the last (Jan. 22) issue of Labor Challenge. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

Forty percent across-the-board increase in wages and a minimum (monthly) wage of 1,200 pesos (about U.S. $120). A sliding scale of wages to be adjusted every three months.

Nationalization, under workers' control, of all plants that have been shut down.

Deal with the housing shortage by expropriating resort homes and houses that are standing empty. Eliminate the slums and institute a plan whereby the cost of housing will amount to 10 percent of one's salary.

Control over retirement funds by those in retirement.

Nationalize medicine. Free medical care and treatment.

Local and neighborhood control over municipal budgets and their distribution.

A progressive tax on the more well-to-do sectors and on industries located in each zone in order to finance every area's gas, light, and water systems, etc.

Against the Trade-Union Bureaucracy

Remove leaders from office every two years and let sovereign assemblies decide whether to return them to office. A leader's salary cannot be higher than the average wage of a worker.

No government interference in the trade-union organizations.

No trade-union bureaucracy. For a new leadership of the CGT (Confederacion General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor), to be selected by a rank-and-file convention.

On the Problems Facing the Country

For the nationalization, under workers' control, of all foreign and national monopolies, foreign trade, banking, and financial and credit institutions.

Repudiate the national debt.

Expropriate and break up the large rural estates and distribute them without cost to the poor peasants and agricultural workers.

Equal pay, opportunity, and rights for women and men; free, twenty-four-hour child-care centers.

Immediate freedom for political, trade-union, and student prisoners. Review of the sentences laid down by the antisubversive law. Compensation to those who have been victims of it.

Dissolve the parapolice and paramilitary bodies and punish those responsible for torture.

Politics

Against FREJULI (Frente Justicialista de Liberacion — Justicialist Liberation Front, the Perunist electoral front), the Alianza Republicana (Republican Alliance), the Frente Manriquista (Manriquista Front, named for its leader Manrique), the Alianza Popular (People's Alliance), and all other parties of the bosses.

For workers' candidates.

For a workers' and popular government as a first step toward a socialist Argentina.

JOSE PAEZ, Workers Front candidate for governor of Cordoba.

labor Challenge #72 Feb 1973

Liberation fighter murdered

On Jan. 20, Amilcar Cabral, leader of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) was assassinated in Conakry, Guinea, where he lived.

PAIGC, which has been fighting for the liberation of the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, has liberated more than two-thirds of the colony. It is now in the process of setting up a formal government for Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

According to Sekou Toure, president of Guinea, Cabral "was assassinated in a cowardly and horrible manner . . . in front of his own house, by the poisoned hands of imperialism and Portuguese colonialism." Toure reported Jan. 21 that the "principal killers" had been arrested immediately afterward.

In the past, the Portuguese have attempted similar measures against leaders of independence movements from its African colonies. In 1970, they organized a Bay of Pigs-style invasion of the Republic of Guinea, where PAIGC has bases. In 1969 Eduardo Mondlane, leader of FRELIMO, an independence movement in Mozambique, was assassinated in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Ottawa, too, shares responsibility for the murder of Cabral and other African fighters who have fallen in the struggle for independence. In an editorial tribute to Cabral in the Montreal daily Le Devoir Jan. 23, Jean-Claude Leclerc recalled a recent photo in the Moncton French-language daily l'Evangeline showing railway cars being loaded on a boat at Halifax — part of a shipment of 100 such freight cars built at the Hawker-Siddeley plant in Trenton, N.S., heading for Mozambique. The caption: "Several agents of the International Consultation Division of CN (Canadian National) have already been working with the Mozambique Railway for several months."

Comments Leclerc: "No longer able to make money on the backs of the Vietnamese, will our proud Canadian firms undertake to compensate their portfolios by turning toward the Africa of the Portuguese and their Rhodesian and South African allies? There are some good questions for local citizens and the New Democratic MPs returning from Hanoi!"

In another article in Le Devoir Nov. 7, two members of the newly-formed Comite Liberation Afrique Portugaise et Australe (LAPA — Portuguese and Southern Africa Liberation Committee) in Montreal described Canada's complicity with Portuguese imperialism. According to Daniel Faucher and Jacques Fournier, former teachers in Africa, this takes place through Canada's membership with Portugal in NATO, and "through the intervention of multinational corporations implanted in both Canada and South Africa, such as Falconbridge Nickel, Alcan, Massey-Ferguson, Ford, Manufacturers Life, Sun Life, Weston, etc."

Cabral's murder underscores the necessity of building the struggle against Canadian complicity with Portugal and in support of the independence of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

photo by Jeff White

SOLIDARITY WITH IRISH. Demonstration of about 100 at British trade commission offices in Toronto Jan. 27 commemorated first anniversary of Derry massacre, when British troops gunned down 13 Irish civilians at peaceful civil rights demonstration. Responding to appeals from Bernadette Devlin and Irish organizations, demonstrators from Irish-Canadian and left groups called for immediate and complete withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, freeing of political prisoners, and abolition of special repressive legislation. Above, Gary Porter Toronto LSA organizer, addresses rally.

Meaning of Viet ceasefire accord/4

labor Challenge

FEBRUARY 19, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 7 [73]
25 CENTS

Free Quebec labor leaders!

Defeat Bill 89!

By THE EDITORS

Behind bars at Orsainville prison near Quebec City, Marcel Pepin, Yvon Charbonneau and Louis Laberge have begun their one year jail terms.

Who are these men? They are the three principal leaders of organized labor in Quebec — the presidents respectively of the CSN (Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux — Confederation of National Trade Unions). The CEQ (Centrale de l'Enseignement du Quebec — Quebec Teachers Union) and the FTQ (Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec-Quebec Federation of Labor).

Their crime? They are guilty of participating in actions undertaken by literally tens of thousands of workers. They are guilty of being trade union leaders who acted to defend the interests of working men and women.

The jail sentences constitute a vicious attempt to intimidate other workers and their families and an odious victimization of three individuals.

Jacques-Yvan Morin, president of the Mouvement National des Quebecois (formerly the Saint Jean Baptiste Society) exclaimed "We do not live in a just society but in the context of class struggle. If it were otherwise, Pepin, Laberge and Charbonneau would not be at Orsainville." They are class struggle prisoners, political prisoners.

The Quebec state closed prison doors behind them at the same time that it pressed forward with a major antilabor drive. The Quebec Liberal government's proposed Bill 89 will, if passed into law, empower the state to ban strikes in all areas deemed to involve "essential" services. Bill 89 threatens the hard-won democratic rights of all workers in Canada.

Yvon Charbonneau stated: "What really counts is that workers do not forget that the rights which Bill 89 attempts to wrench from us came out of decades of struggles in Quebec and elsewhere."

Forty-four other trade union leaders — hospital workers — are now appealing sentences of fines and prison terms imposed on them last April, to the Supreme Court of Canada. They were declared guilty of contempt of court for defiance of back-to-work court orders and their sentences were upheld by the Quebec Court of Appeal in November. As in the cases of the three union presidents, the forty-four must have leave to appeal. The Supreme Court of Canada can refuse to hear their appeal, as it did with Pepin, Charbonneau and Laberge.

→P2

Food prices up 10% in one year / 3

Supreme Court rejects native claims / 8

125 years of Communist Manifesto / 6 - 7

p.2

The trade union movement in English Canada and Quebec cannot let this current assault on working class rights go unanswered. The jailing of union leaders sounds a warning to all union militants, to all workers — if the bosses and their government can get away with this, what does it say about the fate of militants who try to defend their union's right to strike and other hard-won gains of the labor movement? What does it say about the struggle to defend collective bargaining rights now under attack through such moves as Bill 89?

The World Federation of Labor (composed of many Latin American federations and such European federations as the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, etc.) has called on the Canadian and Quebec governments to cancel the jail sentences, stating that "the decision of the (Canadian) Supreme Court is completely unacceptable."

Such calls and appeals must be taken up by the cross-Canada union movement — the Canadian Labor Congress, provincial federations, labor councils and union locals; by the NDP and its government leaders in three provinces; by the student movement and all those concerned for democratic and trade union rights.

We must demand the immediate and unconditional release of the three; and the dropping of the sentences against the forty-four hospital workers. Charbonneau stated that if a condition for parole was "making a promise not to do what we did over again, then they'll have trouble freeing us." No conditions! Release Pepin, Laberge and Charbonneau NOW.

Bill 89 and the jailings underscore the critical importance of initiatives to revive and extend the Common Front to cement labor unity and common struggle in defense of workers' rights.

Canadian labor must wage a campaign to free the jailed leaders and to block Bill 89 — a campaign designed to inform working people about the bill and to mobilize them in struggle against it.

Free the Quebec trade union prisoners!

Drop all fines and punitive actions against Quebec trade unionists.

Defeat Bill 89. Solidarity with Quebec labor!

labor Challenge #73 Feb 1973

Conference to map abortion campaign

by LINDA MEISSENHEIMER
and BETH ROBERTSON

"Canadian women have been denied the right to abortion long enough. The U.S. Supreme Court decision adds even more power to our demand that the Canadian government act now to repeal Canada's anti-abortion laws. We must build a campaign so big and so powerful that the government will be forced to action."

This statement from Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, reflected the optimistic and determined mood of the cross country coordinating committee meeting of the Coalition, held Feb. 4 in Saskatoon.

Thirty women representing Coalition chapters in Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Toronto met to map out plans for the next stage in the offensive against the Canadian abortion laws and all those who uphold them. The meeting focused on plans for the second cross Canada Conference for Abortion Law Repeal to be held in Toronto, March 16-18. This conference will bring together women from across Canada to protest Canada's restrictive abortion laws and to plan further activities to press for repeal of these laws.

The recent U.S. Supreme Court decision which overturned restrictive abortion laws in 46 states set a powerful precedent for Canada. The Canadian Women's Coalition plans to use this decision to move out and broaden the campaign for a woman's right to abortion in this country.

"We are part of an international movement for abortion rights and now the wheel has been set in motion," said Joan Campana, a staff organizer for the Coalition who spoke at a women's liberation conference in Minneapolis the previous day where the international struggle for abortion law repeal was a featured topic. "Our sisters in the United States have won an important victory and we can now build on their victory by using the upcoming cross Canada conference to involve women from every sector of Canadian life — women of all ages and backgrounds; from every occupation and organization and all political beliefs. We now have the opportunity to expand the campaign here in Canada and reach out to new people in new areas."

The conference has already received broad sponsorship from such groups and individuals as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women; Women for Political Action; the Alberta NDP; the Ontario Federation of Students Women's Conference; Ottawa Area NDP; Grace Hartman, CUPE; and Iona Samis, Ontario Federation of Labor.

Ambitious plans are being made by Coalition chapters across Canada to build the conference through meetings, debates, fund-raising and special projects in the community and on the campuses and high schools.

A major building action for the cross Canada conference will be the speaking tour of Joan Campana which was launched at the coordinating committee meeting. Campana will visit at least ten cities speaking on "Why Canada's Abortion Laws Must Be Repealed" and meeting with Coalition activists.

On Feb. 3, 80 women from seven centers founded Saskatchewan Women for Abortion Law Repeal at a provincial conference in Saskatoon. This new provincial chapter plans regional tours to build the Canadian Women's Coalition and many women at the conference indicated their intention of attending the cross Canada conference.

Lynda Little of the B.C. chapter of the Coalition told the coordinating committee meeting of the tremendous response to the Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception and Sterilization, to be held Feb. 15 as part of Women's Week at the University of British Columbia. Women will be testifying about their experiences as a result of restrictive abortion laws, lack of contraception

→P 3

labor Challenge

#13 Feb 1973

p.2

NDP must repeal B.C. antilabor laws now

by JOAN NEWBIGGING

VANCOUVER, Feb. 12 — As the B.C. NDP government goes into the third week of its first major sitting of the Legislature, a major storm is brewing within the party and trade unions over the NDP government's failure to repeal B.C.'s antilabor laws.

There is a growing anger within the labor movement that the government is reneging on its commitments to labor. Resolutions calling on the government to remove the antilabor legislation and to replace the present Labor Relations Board have been passed at union meetings and NDP gatherings throughout the Lower Mainland. Several unions have sent delegations to Labor minister King.

Their impatience was expressed by Vancouver and District Labor Council president Syd Thompson at a recent VDLC meeting. "It is one hell of a state of affairs when a union is being sued by an employer under legislation that was put there by an antilabor government. Some of this obnoxious legislation has already put people in jail and must be taken off the books. We are not prepared to sit here for another year."

B.C.'s Labor Relations Act and Trade Union Act, the products of 20 years of Social Credit rule, are filled with laws which restrict the activities of the organized labor movement. The use of injunctions, severe restrictions on picketing, and bans on secondary boycotts make it extremely difficult for unions to conduct organizing drives. Provincial employees are denied collective bargaining rights. Union donations for political purposes are prohibited.

Moreover the Labor Relations Board and the Labor Department are still staffed by Social Credit appointees, notoriously hostile to labor.

While the NDP campaigned for the repeal of antilabor legislation before its election, Labor minister King announced last November, shortly after the disbanding of the union-busting Mediation Commission, that the government did not expect to change the labor laws for

WILLIAM KING, B.C. Labor minister.

at least one and a half years. Meanwhile, he announced, it would set up a "Commission of Inquiry."

With the spring session now well underway, the government has failed to indicate clearly what it intends to do with the antilabor laws, and no one has as yet been officially named to the commission of inquiry. Jim Kinnaird, president of the B.C. and Yukon Building Trades Council, summed up the response of many trade unionists. "It looks like procrastination and naturally this has built up a lot of frsutration in the labor movement." George Johnston, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor, has refused to participate on the three-person commission of inquiry.

But it is within the NDP itself that this issue is having its biggest impact. A sharp division has long existed within the B.C. NDP over its ties to the labor movement. Many of the party leaders such as Premier Dave Barrett have consistently tried to undermine the labor party character of the NDP, seeking to pose the party as a political movement that represents "all the people" — with the working class being only one sector of the party's constituency. Claiming responsibility not to the working people and the oppressed but to the "total community," liberal reformers such as Barrett inevitably end up as guardians of the state. Hence their enthusiasm for a commission of inquiry into the labor laws that will place them in the role of arbiters, balancing management against labor in the interests of the "common good."

The stance taken by Barrett and Labor minister King indicates the profound contradiction between the NDP's working class base and the reformist, social democratic leadership rooted both in its parliamentary wing and in the labor bureaucracy itself. The ranks in the party and in the unions cannot rely on the leadership to defend the interests of working people, but must organize a left wing to build a new leadership which can defend their class interests around a class struggle, socialist program.

The Feb. 3-4 NDP provincial council meeting heard wide support expressed for the view that the government must act now on the antilabor laws.

Another important element is introduced into this situatin by the recently-published report of the commission set up by the NDP government to look into collective bargaining rights for civil servants. The report recommended that B.C.'s 31,000 civil servants should be given full collective bargaining rights

→P. 3

labor Challenge #73

P. 3

Conference

DAYCARE SIT-IN. Protesters prepare to leave B.C. government daycare information center after 11-day occupation. NDP government agreed to negotiate with protesters on their demands for 24-hour child care facilities.

P. 3

and forced sterilization. Doctors and lawyers will also be submitting testimony based on their experiences with the present laws denying women control over their reproductive lives.

The cross Canada conference will provide an opportunity for women across Canada to share these experiences and decide on action and policy for the campaign over the next period. On Friday evening a public protest rally is planned to kick off the conference. Prominent women from Canada and around the world are being approached to speak at the rally which will call on the Canadian government to move immediately to repeal all anti-abortion laws from the criminal code.

The spirit of the cordinating committee meeting reflected the growth of the abortion law repeal movement both in size and confidence since the founding conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition one year ago and showed the new possibilities for building the movement in the next year.

NDP must repeal

P. 3

including the right to strike, with the option of voluntarily referring disputes for binding arbitration. Since the publication of this report, considerable pressure has been exerted on the NDP government not to give civil servants the right to strike. Social Credit, Tory and Liberal politicians have railed against it; editorials in the daily press have declared that this will be the test of Barrett's independence from the B.C. Federation of Labor. In response, the B.C. Fed. has felt compelled to publish ads in the daily papers calling on the NDP government to ensure that "top priority will be given to legislation implementing all of the recommendations brought forward by the commission." So far the NDP government has failed to commit itself to this course, despite the fact that it is party policy.

There are clear indications that this pressure from the ranks of the party and the labor movement is having an effect on the Barrett leadership. At the recent convention of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union, where he received an angry grilling from delegates. Labor minister King modified his stand that no major changes in the labor laws would be made for 18 months. He stated that the commission of inquiry could probably accomplish its review in six to eight months so that new legislation might be introdueed in the fall session.

The Barrett government is using the projected Commission of Inquiry as a stalling device. They are referring all labor's demands and recommendations to it. This is an intolerable affront to the labor movement.

Either the Barrett government sets out to use its legislative power and authority to defend the interests of wnrking people and the oppressed against capitalist exploitation or it will relapse into the old game of "business as usual." It cannot stand above the class struggle.

Organized labor must take the lead in determining the course of the B.C. NDP government. The BCFL should call a special convention to launch a campaign for immediate repeal of antilabor laws. Such a conference, attended by genuine rank and file delegates elected from the locals, can go further — to discuss and formulate a broader range of demands on labor's government which take it beyond the defense of labor's right to organize against the bosses, toward measures which begin to undermine the entrenched power of the corporations. An anticapitalist strategy which seeks to make the NDP government the instrument of labor's class interests would include such measures as nationalization of the forest industry, workers control of industry, legislation of a shorter work week to cut unemployment and spread available jobs throughout the work force.

The campaign to get the government to repeal the antilabor laws is asserting the right of the party membership to control and direct the activities of their elected representatives. It demonstrates the potential power of the rank and file to exert that control.

But to win, the militants and party activists have to arm with a program and must create a means to come together to press their demands. Already conferences to back the party demand for a Ministry of Women have taken place. Similar conferences are needed in the case of labor legislation. What these two experiences indicate is the necessity for the party's left supporters to organize themselves into a socialist wing.

Natives fight for aboriginal rights
Demand self-determination

by DICK FIDLER
(from Labor Challenge, February 1973)

The question of aboriginal rights remains a burning issue following the rejection by the Supreme Court of Canada Jan. 31 of land claims by British Columbia's Nishga Indians.

The Nishga tribe is claiming title to 4,800 square miles of land in northern B.C. which the provincial government – the target of their legal suit – conceded they had occupied "since time immemorial." The case was regarded as a landmark test of native peoples' claims across Canada to compensation for lands stolen from them by the white man as he colonized the continent. The Nishgas have never signed a treaty with the whites.

Of the seven judges who heard the case in Ottawa, three upheld the Nishga claim, arguing in part that the Indians' longtime occupation of the Nass Valley was a proof of ownership, and that Indian title was recognized in George III's Royal Proclamation of 1763 which forbade private persons to buy Indian lands.

Three judges turned down the Nishga appeal, saying they were not covered by the Royal Proclamation since the lands in question had come under British control only in 1846 with the signing by Britain and the United States of the Treaty of Oregon, which did not mention Indian rights. The seventh judge's deciding vote against the native claim was based on a "technical detail," that the B.C. attorney-general had not authorized the case to come before the Supreme Court.

While Nishga spokesmen said they would take the case to the World Court in The Hague, George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, said it was now up to the federal government to make the final decision. Native MP Wally Firth (NDP-Northwest Territories) challenged the government to adopt as its own his motion to form a commons committee that would investigate the whole question of Indian land claims. (As a private member's bill, his motion is unlikely to be debated during this session.) Frank Howard (NDP-Skeena) moved unsuccessfully for a special debate on the court's decision.

Asked the government position, Prime Minister Trudeau referred to the 1969 White Paper which dismissed aboriginal claims. Yet the question of aboriginal and treaty rights is a vital one for Canada's native peoples – a cornerstone of their attempts to fight off new encroachments on their lands threatened by energy resource developments like the Quebec government's James Bay hydro-electric development, or the projected Mackenzie Valley highway and pipeline in the Northwest Territories. Not only are many of the 250,000 reserve Indians pressing for renegotiation of their treaties, with their minimal provisions imposed on their ancestors by colonial agents and the RCMP. But there are

115,000 Indians, as well as the Inuit (Eskimos) and mixed-blood Metis, who lack even the rudimentary protection of treaties.

Their land claims were bolstered by federal officials at recent court hearings in Montreal on a bid by James Bay Indians and Inuit for an injunction to halt the $6-billion hydro project. The director of the policy division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development testified that no land cession treaty has ever been signed between the District of Ungava's 6,000 Cree Indians and Inuit and any government, with one exception, and therefore they have a firm legal right to more than half the province.

In the Northwest Territories, native people – a majority of the population – are mobilizing around demands that the government freeze all development north of the 60th parallel (the boundary with the southern provinces) until their land claims are settled.

The Territories' 7,000 Indians are covered by two treaties. One of these, Number 11, covers the entire Mackenzie Valley region. This land, now worth billions of dollars, cost Ottawa only $23,000 when it induced the Indians to sign over their rights in 1921.

The Indians argue that the federal government made these treaties in recognition of their underlying aboriginal rights. They are now invoking these rights to claim mineral rights, and want the matter settled prior to any major resource development. Ottawa claims that if the Indians possessed aboriginal rights, they lost them when they signed the treaties, surrendering "forever" all rights, titles and privileges to their lands.

The Yukon and Territories' 13,000 Inuit and 5,000 Metis have no treaties. They joined with the Indians last September to form a new federation of Northern Natives to fight for land claims in the North. The federation has since been joined by the powerful Alaska Federation of Natives which received $1 billion and 40 million acres from the U.S. government in 1971 in recognition of their aboriginal rights.

The struggle for recognition of their aboriginal rights is uniting all Canada's native peoples, treaty and non-treaty alike. For if aboriginal rights are denied, then what is the status of the treaties which were based on the concept that the Indians had rights as original inhabitants? Trudeau himself demonstrated this logic when he told a Liberal party dinner in Vancouver in 1969 that "we won't recognize aboriginal rights. . . and this will mean that perhaps the treaties shouldn't go on forever."

In practice, of course, the existing treaties have been continually broken or not fulfilled by white capitalist society. The most authoritative study of the question, *Native Rights in Canada* (published by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada), lists seven major heads under which the treaties have been violated, beginning with the violation of natives' hunting and fishing rights by whitemen's laws.

Many unsettled native claims date back even to the last century. The native peoples make settlement of these claims a prior condition to discussing amendments to the federal Indian Act or other government measures. Failure to recognize aboriginal rights was a

major factor in their near-unanimous rejection of the Trudeau government's White Paper on native policy.

Following the Supreme Court's rejection of the Nishga appeal, Trudeau is reported to have told Nishga chief Frank Calder that he now thought the Indians have more legal rights to their land than he at first believed. But he told the House Feb. 8 that he still considers aboriginal rights to be "a very vague concept." Indian Affairs minister Jean Chretien, in a recent interview with *Toronto Star* columnist Peter Desbarats, termed native claims to aboriginal rights "legal and semantic disputes," stating "I prefer to look at the question in terms of some sort of social compensation, not related to any rights but to the social disturbance that we are creating for the native peoples."

Why are Canada's rulers so reluctant to acknowledge the just claims of the native peoples, the most oppressed of this society? Trudeau expressed their cynical reasoning very succinctly in his Vancouver speech: "It's inconceivable, I think, that in a given society one section of the society have a treaty with the other section of the society. We must be all equal under the laws. . . I don't think that we should encourage the Indians to feel that their treaties should last forever within Canada so that they be able to receive their twine or their gun powder. They should become Canadians as all other Canadians.

"If we think of restoring aboriginal rights to the Indians well what about the French who were defeated at the Plains of Abraham. Shouldn't we restore rights to them? And what about the Acadians who were deported ─ shouldn't we compensate for this?"

Or, as the prime minister stated elsewhere last year: ". . .If we were to try in any government, try to undo the errors of the past and buy back the past, we wouldn't have a nation, we wouldn't have a country."

Straight from the horse's mouth, as it were ─ the leading spokesman of the Canadian capitalist class acknowledges that the state is founded on violence and injustice!

It is precisely this control by the Canadian state over their lives and livelihoods that growing numbers of native people are challenging. Asserting their nationality as sovereign peoples in their own right based on their territorial claims, they are ' rejecting the laws and prerogatives of the profit-oriented white society as we know it.

The Nishga tribal claims, far from being resolved by the Supreme Court ruling, have helped bring to a head the underlying issues posed by Canada's native struggle for self-determination. The Nishga case arose because the previous Social Credit provincial government denied the Indians' right to their land. What will be the response of the new NDP government in British Columbia? The NDP is pledged by convention decision to respect natives' aboriginal rights. Nishga chief Frank Calder, instrumental in taking their claims to the courts, is a minister in the B.C. Cabinet.

Indian affairs are by law a federal responsibility. But the B.C. NDP government has

now been handed a magnificent opportunity to take the lead on this question, to respond by putting its weight unconditionally behind the Indians' demands, putting at their disposal all the resources of the provincial government so that they can win a victory for all native people in this country.

Irish republicans debate strategy

Convention of Sinn Fein debated strategy for Irish revolutionists

(From Labor Challenge #73 February 1973)

On Feb. 5 Irish Prime Minister Jack Lynch ordered a surprise national election for Feb. 28, apparently to strengthen his government's hand for bargaining with Britain on the future of Northern Ireland. A British government policy document on the future of Northern Ireland is due in March.

A public vote of confidence in the Lynch government would also help Lynch's efforts to crack down on the republican movement. On Feb. 7, Protestant extremists in the North took the offensive with the calling of a 24-hour general strike, protesting the first jailing of Protestants without trial under the Detention of Terrorists Act, and demanding restoration of the Northern Ireland parliament.

An estimated 500,000 of Northern Ireland's 600,000 workers obeyed the strike call, as uniformed members of the Protestant extremist Ulster Defence Association established roadblocks to keep workers at home. Protestant terrorists made forays into Catholic areas, burning buildings, and in one instance attacking a funeral procession for three Irish Republican Army men killed by British troops. British troops reported having shot eleven people during the day.

These most recent events pose even more sharply the tasks faced by the Irish revolutionary vanguard in their struggle for a united socialist Ireland.

by GERRY FOLEY

"An important Ard-Fheis," the January 5 issue of the prestigious Dublin biweekly *Hibernia* said in describing the Dec. 16-17 convention of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Official republican movement. Most of the Irish press seemed to agree that the Official gathering had been an "important" event but at the same time showed confusion as to the precise nature of its "importance."

At the same time, the bourgeois journalists could not help noticing a new ferment of ideas at the Ard Fheis and vague rumbles of profound shifts. In fact, no consistent political line was projected by any group or individual at the Ard Fheis. All of the expressed positions were either vague or contradictory in important respects. In general, it seems premature to talk about crystallized ideological tendencies or groupings in the Official republican movement.

Although the traditional structures of republicanism are evidently being strained by the rising pressure of political debate, they appear to be still holding together an ideologically diverse group that is going through a complex and painful learning process.

In the area of political analysis, important progress has been registered in breaking with conceptions that proved one-sided or overly rigid in the past period. In particular there

was a reassessment of the movement's approach to the national question. The most important document in the republican discussion, the preamble of a resolution redefining policy on the Northern question, said among other things:

NATIONAL STRUGGLE

"In this country more and more the events of the past few years demonstrate that the **struggle for democracy is also the national struggle** since it is **British power and influence that maintains the undemocratic structures** and it is the **Nationalist population** that suffers under this system....

"Correct or not, but the feeling is abroad, that a lot of people in the country and many of our members have the idea that we are not in favor of the 'National Struggle' or the ending of this 'Struggle.' This is one reason why the Provos are still a force today and why they will not fade away for a long time yet, **We must begin to show people and demonstrate clearly to all that our objectives are National Unity and Independence and the Socialist Republic."** *(Emphasis in original.)*

The same document criticized economistic radicals who blamed the civil-rights movement for dividing Protestant and Catholic workers. It noted that the struggle of the minority for their rights was bound to alienate the Protestant workers, corrupted as they are by a caste mentality deliberately fostered by the British authorities and shaped by the historic system of imperialist rule in Ireland. At the same time it condemned as "utter stupidity" the failure to recognize the role of other factors than the directly economic in shaping history. The document stressed the oneness of the national and social struggle as the basis of revolutionary strategy in Ireland.

This article is symptomatic of a lot of new thinking going on in the republican leadership, the outcome of which cannot yet be predicted with certainty. Among other things, it is not at all clear what implications have been drawn from some of the new ideas that have been developing. To some extent, for example, the movement appears to be still paying the price of past political weaknesses on key questions, such as the failure to settle accounts on a realistic basis with the terrorist traditions of the Irish Republican Army.

In general, the political debate inside the republican movement is still being conducted within a largely traditional rather than scientific framework. This was reflected, for example, in the fact that the highest-level discussion took place "on the women's liberation question, which is entirely new to the movement. On the other hand, the worst discussion was undoubtedly on the cultural resolutions. The question of culture, in effect the role of the Irish language, is probably the area where the most metaphysical clutter has accumulated.

POLARIZATION

Nonetheless, within the still largely traditionalist context of republican politics, there was a sharper polarization at this Ard Fheis than at the last one.

Ironically, the vague division followed the same general lines as the split that led to the formation of the Provisional IRA three years ago, that is, a division between a "metaphysical tendency" and an "analytical tendency." Of course,these are by no means factional groupings or even clear ideological tendencies, and the lines are still shifting. But the Stalinist-trained elements, as well as individuals influenced by other types of economism, seem inclined to line up with those older republicans who continue to follow the traditional metaphysical approach of the IRA in a left form.

This trend is natural, since the abstract dogmatic formulas of vulgar Marxists tend to reduce socialist principles to a kind of metaphysics translated into economic terms, the category of the good being changed from the "national people" to the "working class." The irony lies in the fact that the metaphysicians, who have been most vociferous in their condemnations of the Provisionals, tended to follow the same basic intellectual method as the ideologists of republican traditionalism who fostered and justified the split.

The same type of absolutist, moralistic condemnation that the Provisional leadership has hurled at the Officials found a counterpart, for example, in the presidential address of Tomas Mac Giolla who placed full responsibility for a year of defeats on the rival republican organization.

A more fruitful approach would be a concrete and rigorously objective analysis of the Provisionals' composition and political dynamic, and a corresponding explanation of the differences separating the two groupings. At the same time precise areas ought to be marked out where the interests of all who lay claim to the republican tradition come together and where cooperation is possible and necessary, as in the fight against repression.

In particular, blaming all the defeats of the past year on the Provisionals is unpleasantly reminiscent of the Stalinist practice of looking for "traitors" when things go wrong.

COMPLEX PROBLEMS

As they set their sights toward making a socialist revolution, the republican leaders found themselves faced with more and more complex problems and tasks, and it has become evident that a loose organization with vague political positions is not adequate to this work. This realization was spelled out in the Ard Comhairle (National Committee) resolution on organization and structure:

"Sinn Fein recognizes that its foremost organizational task is the creation of a revolutionary party of the Irish working-class to act as the vanguard in the social and national revolutionary struggle on which we are engaged. The revolutionary vanguard

cannot be an umbrella organization embracing different ideologies, and we affirm the need to intensify our development towards ideological unity and clarity within our Movement on the basis of our educational program. This can only be done on the basis of democratic centralism . . . ."

While these organizational changes were being considered, the level of political discussion rose in the Official republican movement. The convention was unanimous in endorsing the correctness of the basic policy followed in the past period, that is, concentrating on revolutionary political activity and mass organization as opposed to the old apolitical guerrillaist outlook of the Irish Republican Army. At the same time, the formulation of specific policies and demands came under deep-going criticism.

REJECT “STAGES"

At the ard fheis a major resolution on the civil-rights movement was introduced which clarified the policy of the Official republican movement on some issues: "The Republican Movement could not under any circumstances call for the re-establishment of a Six-County parliament. To do so would mean total recognition of Britain's right to impose a Partitionist assembly on the Irish people, and would be in complete conflict with the Republican and Separatist tradition." This resolution made it clear that although the Official republican movement favored demanding democratic rights from the British government and Northern Irish authorities, it did not accept the context of a Northern “statelet.” In effect, this resolution rejected the "stages" concept earlier held on one level or another by some of the republican leadership, a concept that envisaged "democratization" of the Six-County state as a precondition for struggling for national liberation.

The main criticism the preamble (to the civil-rights movement resolution) made of previous republican policy toward the civil-rights movement was that the Officials had appeared to confine their objectives to the civil-rights demands and not put forward clearly enough their own revolutionary nationalist program. The civil-rights demands alone, according to the preamble, fitted in with the Communist party's perspective of reform rather than revolution.

CIVIL RIGHTS

This was a correct assessment of a very dangerous tendency. But at the same time it was not a well-balanced one. The civil-rights demands were not reformist in effect. Their impact was revolutionary. They produced the most powerful mass mobilization in modern Irish history. What was reformist was the CP's determination to formulate these demands in a way that specifically and explicitly accepted the framework of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, British control and the partition, in a way that imposed narrow limits on the dynamic of the struggle.

Besides failing to put forward its own revolutionary demands in propaganda and

agitation, the republican movement did not fight the Communist party politically in the Civil Rights Association itself and thus allowed the movement to be robbed of its revolutionary momentum. This, among other things, is what left the way open for the development of terrorism in the North, which further accelerated the decline of the mass movement.

Thus, while the preamble reasserted and clarified the revolutionary principles of the Official republican movement, it did not come to grips with the concrete form in which reformist influence has manifested itself and has had its most pernicious effects. It did not chart a militant course for the civil-rights movement. (*emphasized paragraphs by the editors of this website)*

SECTARIAN

At the same time the political unclarity and uncertainty of the Official republican movement has produced a sectarian, isolationist reaction to the political threat posed by the Provisionals. This attitude, among other things, seems to have led the republicans to fear open political conflict with their Communist party allies in the civil-rights movement. The result has been that the militancy and effectiveness of the movement have declined, weakening the mass alternative to terrorism and increasing support for the Provisionals' guerrilla campaign.

Moreover, the dogmatic and emotional reaction to the challenge of the Provisionals and their incorrect strategies has tended to paralyze thought and initiative in the Official republican movement itself, whose only weapon against the right wing of the Provisionals (which is supported by sections of the Church and the capitalist class) is its political understanding and flexibility.

The civil-rights question is the acid test for Irish political organizations. Not only does it remain the central issue in the North, but the fight against repression has become the key to the political situation in the South. Because of the political and social mechanisms of imperialist control in Ireland, and because of the revolutionary traditions of the Irish people, the struggle against repression and discrimination is the cutting edge of the fight against imperialism. In fact, the civil-rights movement is an anti-imperialist movement in essence, and this is becoming clearer and clearer as the British army assumes a more and more active role in repressing the nationalist people. Economic issues underlie this struggle, and as it develops, its economic implications will become even clearer. But the political issues of democracy and an end to discrimination are the focus *(paragraph emphasis by the editors of this website).*

*Reprinted from I*ntercontinental Press, *New York)*

In brief

labor Challenge
Feb 1973

YOUNG SOCIALIST WINS HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT PRESIDENCY

The new student president at Harbord Collegiate in Toronto is Young Socialist David Johnson. Johnson was elected Feb. 8, receiving more votes than his two opponents combined, with an unusually high voter turnout of 67 percent.

Harbord, a downtown school with a high percentage of working class and immigrant students, has seen important protests this year over administration censorship of the student paper. Johnson is a leader of the student protests, which presented a series of demands in a high school student bill of rights to the Toronto Board of Education the evening of the election.

Johnson's program called for a campaign against the education cutbacks, for women's studies and Third World study courses in the school. He used his campaign to express opposition to the oppression of Quebec by Ottawa, and Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

Johnson's leaflet outlined the strategy of the Young Socialists "to turn the schools into expressions of the interests of students and into instruments for making social change. The YS aims for total change in society — and changing the schools to serve the majority is part of our goal for changing the world to serve the majority through the socialist revolution."

Johnson's campaign is only one component of a big effort the YS has launched to win student government posts in universities and high schools across Canada this spring.

OTTAWA SOCIALIST JAILED

The Ottawa organizer of the League for Socialist Action, Joe Young, went to jail Feb. 9, to serve a three day sentence for selling the monthly paper Young Socialist on the Sparks St. Mall.

Young is serving the sentence to point out the outrageous situation on the Mall, a major shopping area in the capital, where the freedom to circulate the press has been taken away.

The Committee for Freedom of the Press, which is defending Young, is pressing City Council to take the authority over newspaper sales away from the Pedestrian Promenade Authority, a group of Sparks St. businessmen.

advertisement

"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."
-V.I. Lenin

MARXISM AND THE CANADIAN REVOLUTION

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES sponsored by

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION & YOUNG SOCIALISTS

In March the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists are sponsoring Regional Socialist Educational Conferences in four cities. Topics to be discussed include: "Marxist Theory and Practice;" "Nixon's World Strategy and the Vietnam 'Settlement';" "The Origins of Women's Opperssion;" "Class Struggle and National Liberation in Quebec;" and "A Program for Canada's Revolution."

Speakers at the conferenceswill include leading Canadian socialist activists, members of the LSA and YS, and participants in the student, women's antiwar and labor movements.

TORONTO and VANCOUVER:
March 2-4

EDMONTON AND WINNIPEG:
Dates to be announced.

For information on times and places, transportation from your area and other details, contact the LSA or YS in your area:

Edmonton — LSA, YS, No. 6, 10518 — 82 Ave., 432-7358; **Fredericton** — YS, Student Union Building UNB, 454-9270; **Guelph** — YS, c-o Tom Baker, Box 19, Ontario Vet. College, University of Guelph; **Halifax-Dartmouth** — YS, P.O. Box 932, Halifax, 454-2563, 423-4314; **Hamilton** — 1001 Main St. W., Apt. 116, 528-6200; **Hull** — LJS, a-s S. Trudeau, 101 boul. Sacre-coeur, app. 401, 770-7471; **Kitchener-Waterloo** — LSA, YS, Box 921, Kitchener, 576-2293; **Montreal** — LSO, LJS, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018 **Orillia** — LSA, YS, Box 835; **Ottawa** — No. 1, 418 Somerset St. W., 232-2171; **Peterborough** — YS, 429 Stewart St., 745-9819; **Regina** — YS, Box 623; **Richmond Hill** — LSA, YS, Box 281; **Saskatoon** — YS, Box 704; **St. Catharines** — LSA, Box 343; **Toronto** — LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-4056. North Metro LSA, 5740 Yonge St., Willowdale, 221-5425; **Vancouver** — LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924; **Winnipeg** — LSA, YS, No. 728, 416 Main St., 943-7791.

ELECTION RALLY of Ligue Communiste [French Section of Fourth International] attracted 7,000 people at Sports Palace in Paris Feb. 7. Along with another revolutionary group, Lutte Ouvriere, the Ligue Communiste is fielding candidates for legislative elections March 4 in about half the electoral districts.

FRENCH DOCTORS CHALLENGE ABORTION LAWS

On Feb. 7 more than 200 doctors, jurists, clerics and intellectuals signed a declaration saying they had participated or procured abortions on contravention of a 52-year-old French law. On Feb. 3, 390 physicians signed a similar statement, and risked 10 years in jail and expulsion from the profession.

France's law permits an abortion only if the mother's life is in immediate danger. This, said the physicians, makes the country "one of the last living in the middle ages as far as sexuality and abortion are concerned."

NDP WOMEN PRESS DEMANDS ON B.C. GOVERNMENT

About 125 women indicated their support for a ministry of women's rights at the first regional conference organized by the NDP women's committee in Vancouver, Feb. 10.

MLAs Rosemary Brown and Phyllis Young, both of whom have spoken in support of the ministry in the legislature, addressed the conference. Brown described the deeply entrenched discrimination against women that exists at all levels of the civil service, as an example of injustices the ministry could act to correct.

During the conference a number of women who had been conducting a week-long occupation of the provincial government's Community Health Care Information Center in Vancouver explained the purpose of their occupation. Among other demands they wanted the NDP government to implement immediately its program of 24-hour, community controlled child care centers, and to make available long-promised grants for three specific daycare centers in Vancouver. The conference endorsed the demands of the occupation.

The conference made projections to step up the campaign for the ministry of women's rights, by setting up women's committees in constituencies, by holding further conferences, and by circulating **Priorities**, a monthly publication of the NDP women's committee. (Subscriptions are $1 for 12 issues, available from **Priorities**, c/o 2803 Wall St., Vancouver 6, B.C.)

CANADIAN COMMITTEE TO DEFEND QUEBEC TRADE UNIONISTS

Gustavo Tolentino, Secretary
#3, OZARK CRESCENT
Toronto, Ontario.

March 7, 1973.

To whom it may concern:

Dear sisters and brothers:

We enclose please find an appeal from the Quebec Federation of Labor (CLC) calling upon "trade unionists and supporters of trade union rights across Canada" to appeal for the release from prison of Marcel Pepin, Louis Laberge and Yvon Charbonneau.

As well, we enclose other material relating the work of our just formed committee for your information.

We would request that you re-publish this appeal in your newspaper or periodical. Further, that you consider editorializing your opposition to the imprisonment of Quebec's three principal trade union leaders.

With our modest resources we are unable to continue to do large mailings to the entire student, trade union and various other periodicals across Canada; however, if your publication is interested in receiving further information about the jailings of Quebec trade unionists and Bill 89 we will be happy to answer any requests.

We would also like to draw to your attention the weekly Quebec trade union paper QUEBEC PRESSE (address 9670 Peloquin, Montreal 358, Quebec) which carries information about trade union and civil liberties struggles on a regular basis.

Yours in solidarity,

G Tolentino

Gustavo Tolentino, MD.

QFL APPEAL ATTACHED:

Fédération des travailleurs du Québec

Québec Federation of Labour

1290,
rue St-Denis,
5e étage,
Montréal 129, Québec.
Tel. : 866-9791

DRAFT APPEAL FROM QUEBEC TRADE UNIONISTS

We Quebec trade unionists appeal to trade unionists and supporters of trade union rights across Canada to call for the immediate and unconditional release of Marcel Pepin, Louis Laberge and Yvon Charbonneau from prison.

The three - presidents respectively of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN-Council of National Trade Unions--CNTU), the Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ--Quebec Federation of Labour--QFL) and the Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec (CEQ-Quebec Teaching Federation), have been jailed for actions they undertook together with literally many tens of thousands of workers last year during the public workers strike.

Their jailing comes at the same time as the Quebec government has moved ahead with the vicious anti-labor, anti-strike Bill 89 -- a bill which if passed into law will grant the state powers to ban strikes deemed to involve "essential services".

The jailings of the three trade union presidents at this time can only be seen as a means to intimidate all working people in Quebec who now face the threat of more severe anti-labor legislation and are engaged in a struggle to oppose and defeat Bill 89.

Bill 89 is not only a threat to trade union rights in Quebec, but to basic trade union rights throughout Canada where similar legislation can be expected if we are unable to defeat it here.

We appeal to our brothers and sisters across Canada and to all those who value and support basic trade union rights to add their voices to the demand for the immediate, unconditional release of brothers Charbonneau, Laberge and Pepin.

Fernand Daoust

FERNAND DAOUST,

FD/db
opeiu-57

Imprimé sur papier de fabrication syndicale
Printed on Union Made Paper

League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Discussion Bulletin 1972-73

Contents

CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION ON QUEBEC
by John Lejderman, Montreal Branch

WHERE THE LSA/LSO POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAJORITY'S POSITION TAKES IT
by William Brant, Toronto Local, East Branch

AGAINST OUR NORTH AMERICAN BOURGEOSIE AND ITS CANADIAN STATE
by J. Jennings, Toronto Local, East Branch

Number 34 March 17, 1973 50 cents

For Internal Circulation Only

WHERE THE LSA/LSO POLITICAL COMMITEE MAJORITY'S POSITION TAKES IT by William Brant*, Toronto Local, East Branch

*(From LSA/LSO DB #34 March 17, 1973, item 2; *WB=Zane Boyd.)*

Already in the early stages of the discussion on Canada/U.S. Relations and the question of Canadian nationalism, Comrades Dowson and Marlon and supporters of their views are said to be projecting the Canadian Trotskyist movement onto a dangerous course. They are said to be posing national tasks before the socialist revolution in Canada, and while it is conceded that they have not proposed a nationalist program, in the course of time it is alleged that they will be compelled to do so.

Of course Dowson and Marlon deny this and none of their contributions to the discussion give any credit to these contentions. These fears, which are completely groundless, find no support in anything they have written or said. They claim to stand on the position adopted by our 1968 pan-Canadian convention published in the pamphlet *Canada-U.S. Relations -- a Socialist Viewpoint.*

Life itself will prove whether there is even the slightest truth in these allegations as to the inner logic of the Dowson-Marlon posi tion. On the other hand, however, it is already clear where the Political Committee majority's position is taking it. We have no need to speculate or prophesize. It is documented in the convention materials of the YS/LJS, and in an unmistakably clear and written form, which is readily available to all.

Early this summer, before the LSA/LSO had presented any detailed documentation on Canada-U.S. Relations and Canadian nationalism, the YS/LJS leadership presented a political resolution and an antiwar resolution to their pre-convention discussion.

These documents stood on common ground with the LSA/LSO's 1968 convention position that the anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment in Canada is generally anti-capitalist, that we must identify with it and lead it to socialist conclusions -- but extend it to embrace the phenomenon of Canadian nationalism as a progressive one.

This position could be said to have been also the viewpoint of the LSA/LSO political committee at that time. However, subsequently the majority of the PC reversed its position and the current discussion began.

The YS/LJS leadership at its plenum at the end of the summer repudiated its former support for Canadian nationalism as being a component of the radicalization process or in anyway progressive, and decided to prepare amendments to the antiwar and political resolution that it had earlier presented to the pre-convention discussion. These amendments were finally submitted to the youth after the PC majority had come out with its document *Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism,* in December, just before the convention.

The youth leadership presented these amendments as being merely within the framework of "corrections" to their former support of
Canadian nationalism. However as I show below in a last minute contribution that I made to the YS/LJS convention, the amendments go far beyond simply that. They repudiate several key concepts and political positions that our common movement has held up to date and still holds on record,

Since the League leadership participated fully in the youth convention and in no way dissociated itself then or later from any of these amendments I think it can be said that they support them and therefore the amendments, not in any speculative way, but in a very concrete way, show where their position actually took them. I therefore submit my contribution to the YS/LJS convention to the pre-convention discussion of the LSA/LSO as being highly relevant to its discussion. Nothing that was said at the YS/LJS convention causes me to change any part of it and I submit it as it appeared in the youth bulletin.

ON THE AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL AND ANTIWAR RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH CANADIAN NATIONALISM

I am submitting this contribution directly to the convention for consideration by the delegates. I must apologize for the late date. However, there are reasons for my putting it forward only now.

For one, my direction for some time now has been out of the youth movement and into the League. I shall be graduating at this convention. This has made me somewhat reluctant to get involved at this time in any important issue of dispute in the youth movement. This is all the more true of Canadian nationalism as the discussion on this question has taken place primarily in the League.

A second and more important reason, however, is that the differing views on the question have only recently begun to be presented to the movement in a thorough and rounded way. Until the release of the LSA Political Committee's submission on the question, *Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism*, about one month ago, no clearly worked-out position had been put forward on any levels of the movement. And since that time, only two or three other contributions have been made -- a brief initial presentation by comrade Ross Dowson, as well as two others by comrade D.L. Many comrades have yet to read even these documents. Nor was the line of the youth leadership on the question fully articulated and laid down in writing until recently. Only about two weeks ago were the finalized amendments to the original drafts of the political and antiwar resolutions submitted for discussion.

Given this situation, it would have been best for us to have laid aside the issue for further discussion in the first place in order to have the benefits that the discussion only now beginning in the League would offer. However, second revised drafts of both our political and antiwar resolutions have been presented to us, which introduce significant and definitive amendments to the original versions presented earlier this year in Bulletins 1 and 4 respectively. We are now being called upon to adopt these amendments. It is my opinion, however, that they should be rejected and that we should continue discussion on the presentation of Canadian nationalism in the original draft versions.

It would be highly unfortunate and detrimental to the current discussion on this question if the youth movement adopted the amendments prior to full discussion on the question along with the League. I believe the youth comrades may well find themselves convinced of a different point of view later on and find themselves faced with the awkward problem of having to change the movement line again.

***

Many comrades are under the illusion that the amendments are merely designed to reassert the traditional line of the movement on Canadian nationalism. This is simply not the case, as I shall show. I shall deal with what the movement's line on nationalism actually is a little later on.

But to begin with, it is wrong to think that the amendments simply reject any support for "nationalism"; they go far beyond that, rejecting a whole series of concepts which the movement had hitherto adopted and held, both in the League and in the youth.

The alteration of these concepts -- or more clearly, their omission in the final drafts -- is probably not immediately evident to comrades. One has to perform a little detective work, combined with some subtle surgery, to discover what the real effect of the amendments is. One has to find the altered paragraphs in the final versions of the two resolutions and cut them out; track down those paragraphs in the original text which have been eliminated or altered; and tape in the final versions of the altered paragraphs over the original ones. Then one is prepared to read over and closely compare the two versions. The differences are most striking -- and not merely for their rejection of "nationalism".

What are the key concepts and former positions of the movement that have been omitted from the final draft resolution and in effect rejected? Let us briefly outline them:

1 . The Domination of Canada and Its Economy by U.S. Capital

Paragraph 4 on page 2 of the **original** version of the Political Resolution reads: "The profound contradictions of capitalism which have generated the youth radicalization on a world scale are sharply reflected in Canada. The Canadian ruling class, the tiny handful of men who control almost all the wealth of this country, has willingly tied the entire economy to the needs of U.S. imperialism bringing about **the domination of all aspects of Canadian life by the U.S**." (emphasis added)

What is there here to do with "Canadian nationalism"?

This paragraph has been replaced by the paragraph on page 5 of the amended version of the Political Resolution beginning: "Far from being the peaceful 'True North Strong and Free'. . . "

In the 2nd paragraph on page 6 of the original Political Resolution, the words, "imperialist domination and war" have been changed to read simply "imperialist war".

Finally, in case there is any further doubt as to the omission of the concept of U.S. domination, there is the sentence in the 3rd paragraph on page 7 of the original Political Resolution which reads: "The revulsion of Canadian youth and the Canadian people with the horrors and ruthlessness of U.S. imperialism and **its domination of every aspect of Canadian life** were at the roots of the massive spontaneous upsurge against the Amchitka blast." (emphasis added)

In the section of the amended Political Resolution dealing with the same subject, Amchitka *(the U.S. nuclear test blast off the coast of Alaska and Northwest B.C. –ed.)* , no mention is made of U.S. domination, let alone of its having been the prime factor at the roots of the protest, as stated in the original.

Note that in none of the three amended paragraphs quoted was ther any-mention of "Canadian nationalism",

2. Canada as a "Junior Partner" of U.S. Imperialism

In the 2nd paragraph on page 2 of the antiwar resolution, the first sentence has the concept of junior partner of U.S. imperialists changed to simply read "partner of U.S. imperialists".

And again, in paragraph 3 on page 10 of the original antiwar resolution, the following sentence has been deleted: "The war in Vietnam adds a central component to the oppression of the Canadian people and epito mizes our exploitation by the U.S. imperialists and their junior partners in Canada.

Once again, in neither of these two circumstances was there anything to do with "nationalism" as such.

3. The Anti-Imperialist Sentiment as a Key Factor Shaping the Radicalization of Canadian Youth

On page 3 of the original draft of the Political Resolution, the section entitled "The Oppression of Youth" begins with the following statement: "These fundamental contradictions of capitalism and imperialism have created the three factors shaping the radicalization in Canada – the anti-imperialist sentiment, the nationalism in Quebec, and feminism."

This entire section on youth oppression has now been amended. However, the new section, entitled "Origins of the Youth Radicalization", has removed anti-imperialist sentiment as a key radicalizing factor, and talks instead about students and the Vietnam war, in addition to Quebec nationalism and feminism which retain their prominence.

Yet one more time, there is nothing in the original versions here about"nationalism."

4. U.S. Imperialism as Number One Imperialist and Counter-Revolutionary Power

In paragraph 5 , on page 1 of the original draft political resolution, the following sentence has been deleted: "U.S. imperialism is being exposed (by Vietnam - WB) as World Public Enemy Number One and the lines are drawn very clearly between genocide and destruction on the one hand and socialist revolution on the other."

Again, what has this deletion to do with "nationalism"?

5. Our Demands to End Americanization

Originally included on page 14 of the first draft of the Political Resolution, this section of our program has been deleted entirely in the second draft. It included demands like: "Break the universities and schools from the US war machine", "Teach the truth about Canadian history", "Student faculty-staff controlled Canadian studies departments", and "Open the resources of the university to struggles in the interests of the Canadian people".

While comrades may disagree with one or another of these demands, that is not the problem. What is dumped here is the issue of Americanization as part of our program. This clearly goes against the line adopted for instance in the political resolution at our last convention.

Besides the alteration of these specific concepts of our movement, the analyses of the Amchitka upsurge in both the political and antiwar resolutions has been significantly and unjustly altered from that in the original drafts. Again, comrades can really only grasp the changes here by closely comparing the respective versions, paragraph by paragraph.

* * *

The Movement's Line on Canadian Nationalism

Returning to this question, the amendments are alleged to reaffirm the movement line. This is not so. Just as the amendments amount to a rejection of certain other established concepts, so they do likewise on the question of "nationalism" in Canada.

As it now stands, the amended Political Resolution does not simply oppose bourgeois nationalism, but nationalism per se in Canada. This was never the line of either the LSA or the YS as established in their con vention resolutions.

The 1968 LSA resolution on Canada-U.S. Relations is reputed to have opposed Canadian nationalism all down the line. But what did it actually say! Here are a few revealing quotations from that document:

"The term (Canadian nationalism) is a misnomer, causing confusion rather than giving insight into this phenomenon, its dynamics and direction. More correctly, it should be .designated as a elemental anti-imperialist sentiment -- developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness. **It is by its being essentially anti-imperialist that it finds no basis of support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen,** who defend U.S. imperialism, not only out of a natural affinity, but with a clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the U.S. ruling class." (page 8, emphasis added)

"This anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment is an important fact of Canadian political and social life. To accept or pin the label nationalist on it is to not only incorrectly designate it. It leads to a dismissal, if not an opposition to it. On the contrary we must recognize it for its essentially radical character and develop it." (page 10)

"Nationalism in advanced capitalist countries such as Canada has traditionally been a tool of the ruling class. In 1939 the banner of national unity was raised in order to gear the nation, specifically the working class, to sacrifice their lives in an imperialist world war. It is now being raised to mobilize English speaking Canada against the legitimate struggle of the Québécois for their national rights. This **bourgeois** nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society -- in particular the development of class consciousness amongst the workers, and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them.

"**What in common with this, has the phenomenon which we can see developing across the country over the question of Canada-U.S. relations?**

"Far from promoting this 'nationalism' the Canadian ruling class, their parties and their spokesmen, stand" firmly united against it . . ." (emphasis added, page 9)

"This brand of 'nationalism' far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes **against** the bourgeoisie. It is discrediting the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie as not representing any interest that could be said to be Canadian, as being in essence agents of another power, a foreign power, U.S. imperialism, whose role is increasingly becoming more clear and more hated and more feared." (page 9)

As this series of quotations indicates, the 1968 LSA resolution on Canada-US Relations did not oppose the then developing "nationalist" sentiment in this country. In fact, it clearly supported its progressive character and radical thrust. The problem, so far as the document was concerned, was a terminological one: it rejected the label "nationalist", not because this was a pro-bourgeois sentiment fostered by the Canadian capitalist class, but because it felt the term led to confusion

(rather) than clarity. As an alternative designation, it proposed calling this sentiment "anti-imperialist" or alternatively "anti-US imperialist".* (* This position of **support** to the growing (“)anti-imperialist" sentiment in Canada, while rejecting the designation "nationalist" became an important part of the life and overall program of our entire movement, including the YS/LJS, In fact, the youth movement adopted it as its own.)

The amendments presently before us are not merely posed in the interests of terminological accuracy in describing this "anti-US imperialist" sentiment; they in fact amount to a rejection of the sentiment itself.

This is clearly an alteration and rejection of our previously held point of view. We must reassert our appraisal of the fundamentally radical character of the "anti-imperialist" and **so-called** "nationalist" sentiment in Canada, by rejecting the amendments.

Comrades may nevertheless wonder about the fact that the original draft political and antiwar resolutions actually accepted and adopted the "nationalist" designation. This is true. And to that extent, this represents something different. However, that is **all** it represents. Contrast this to the new, amended versions which **throw out** previously established positions and alter the entire **thrust and intent** of our line to date.

The best way to proceed would be to continue discussion on the original draft political and antiwar resolutions on this question, within the framework of continued support for and intervention around the anti-US imperialist sentiment. That would be the approach truly consistent with our traditional position.

* * *

With that understanding, I therefore propose the rejection of the following amendments to the political and antiwar resolutions for further consideration and discussion by the movement as a whole:

Antiwar Resolution: all the amendments as outlined in Bulletin 11 Political Resolution (the original draft, Bulletin 1):

page 1 , paragraph 5 -- the deletion of the final sentence.

page 2 , paragraph 4 -- its substitution with paragraph 6 on page 3 in Bulletin 11.

page 3 , paragraph 1-- its alteration along the lines of the 2nd paragraph on page 4 in Bulletin 11.

page 6 , paragraph 2 -- the alteration of "imperialist domination and war" to "imperialist war" and

-- the deletion of the clause "and it cannot win independence from the U.S."

page 7 , paragraphs 2 and 3 - their substitution with paragraphs 2 , 3 , 4 ,and 5 on page 8 and paragraph 1 on page in Bulletin 11.

page 14, the deletion of the program section "End Americanization".

There is a new element in the debate. The Intern tional majority has launcehd through the pen of Mandel a sweeping attack on the international miniroty and in particular on the Cdn section . There line is that the opportunist tendency pressure are greater on the international than the right wing pressures---see Canada. He attack us on three counts 1 on Quebec nationalism--he upholds Mike Mill openly. 2- on English Cdn nati nalism--he upholds the PC majority position 3- on the NDP--he attacks LC and the YS for oppor tunist adaptation to reformism He criticized the very same issue of LC that I criticized our completely uncriticial identity with the NDP at the time of the federal election. I noted on the same issue he criticizes--- astonishing--not a single word that distinguishes us Trotskyists fro the NDP--all the more astonish g when you consider they just moved in on the Waffle. The next issue is a dsicsussion on our branch I scored for i s advise. not to the left- but to the NDP reform st brass.

As I said we will be se ding a sort of report out of the Sunday meeting.

Let's hear from you.

comradely

Ross Dowson

NDP is wrong to support Turner's budget / 3

labor Challenge

#74 March 5, 1973 Vol 4 No 4

Int'l Women's Day

Sisterhood is International

by THE EDITORS

For more than sixty years, militant women around the world have observed March 8 as International Women's Day, a day of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for their liberation.

The day was first declared in 1910 by a meeting of socialist women in Copenhagen. On that day in 1915 masses of German women demonstrated against World War I and the arrest of the great revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg.

But the day is best known for the action of the Russian women in 1917. On that day, women textile workers in Petrograd rose up spontaneously and sparked a strike wave that ended in the overthrow of the czar and, later that year, the establishment of the first workers state.

Today the revolutionary heritage is observed by a new generation of women militants. The concept of international solidarity of women is more meaningful than ever. The ideas of women's liberation are finding a growing response around the world not just in the imperialist countries where the contradictions are most blatant, but also in the workers states and the colonial sector of the world.

A selection of headlines from the Toronto Daily Star over the past year suggests the impact of feminist ideas around the world. "British Battle

→ p.2

Canadian labor and U.S. protectionism / 5

Why R.C. Church opposes right to abortion / 6

labor Challenge

#74

p.2

Looms for Equal Pay"; "Turkish Housewives Start Political Party"; "Chinese Women's Lib Cuts Births"; "345 French Doctors Defy Government, Law; Admit Doing Abortions,"

Women's demands — and especially the demand for the right to abortion — have become important political issues in countries around the world. The recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to make abortion a woman's right is unprecedented in history. The only previous proclamation of this right was under Lenin's Bolshevik government after the Russian Revolution of 1917. The victory will inspire and advance the worldwide struggle of women. The women of France and Italy have joined the struggle and are fighting against the repressive abortion laws in their countries.

In Canada, the struggles of women continue — the B.C. childcare fight, the strike of women workers at Dare in Kitchener, the fight to end sex discrimination at the University of British Columbia and countless others. This month the second cross-country conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws takes place. Hundreds of women will attend this important conference to map out a strategy for winning the right of abortion for Canadian women — an important step in gaining the liberation of women.

International Women's Day in 1973 marks the emergence of an international struggle by women on a broader scale and higher level than ever before. The rise of the women's movement today is unprecedented in its forthright struggle against all aspects of the oppression of women. The struggles of women are a forecast of, and part of, the revolutionary struggles that are destined to challenge the entire international system of oppression and exploitation.

WANTED $24,000 by May 1st

by THE EDITORS

Labor Challenge needs $24,000 to publish for the next year. We're asking our readers to contribute that much during our fund drive, which runs from March 1 to May 1.

Labor Challenge is more than a newspaper. It is a campaigner, an organizer, an educator for the movements for social change in this country. It's your paper as well as ours.

When Quebec trade unionists went on strike last May to protest their leaders' imprisonment, Labor Challenge was there. We provided firsthand news and analysis of the labor upsurge. When Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis launched a witchhunt against the left in the party, Labor Challenge explained all the developments, through the split of the Waffle group to the emergence of the Left Caucus. During the B.C. and federal election campaigns, Labor Challenge provided relevant comment on the issues at stake, calling for NDP to power, and explaining the socialist alternative.

Labor Challenge, appearing every other week, presents a program and strategy for all the movements coming onto the scene — the antiwar movement, the movement for repeal of Canada's abortion laws, the native movement, the student movement, and others.

Labor Challenge explained every step of Washington's moves towards detente with Moscow and Peking, leading to the Vietnam ceasefire. We consistently called for and helped build mass actions against U.S. aggression and Canada's complicity in the war.

On Ireland, Bangladesh, the Middle East, Europe, Latin America — Labor Challenge provides news and background articles. All this, plus reviews and regular comments on political affairs of the day.

How much is all this worth? We think it's worth a lot more than $24,000. We hope you agree.

So help Labor Challenge and help yourself at the same time. Fill out the coupon below and return it with your contribution to the Labor Challenge fund drive.

Enclosed is $ ..... as my contribution to the Labor Challenge fund drive.

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... **ZONE** ..... **PROV** .....

labor Challenge #74 Mar 1973

Tribunal told of crimes against women

by WENDY STEVENSON

Women are denied the right to control their own bodies in Canada today. As long as abortion remains in the Criminal Code, women are forced to accept the arbitrary decisions of hospital boards. The result is tragedy for many women.

This was the message revealed by women and doctors talking of their own experiences at the Women's Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception, and Sterilization held in Vancouver Feb. 15.

The tribunal, attended by over 150 people, was a highlight of University of British Columbia's Women's Week, organized by the university's women's studies course. It was sponsored by the B.C. Chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and endorsed by many individuals and organizations including women's organizations, NDP members of parliament, the B.C. NDP Provincial Executive, professors, doctors, campus organizations, the United Church, etc.

Women described how they had been refused abortions under the supposedly "liberalized" abortion laws. Others explained how they were told they could only have an abortion if they got sterilized at the same time. This was the case of a woman from Castlegar, B.C. who was refused an abortion by the Hospital Board unless she agreed to be sterilized. Women added that this was a common occurence for women on welfare with one or more children. Callous doctors decide they have had enough children and say "no sterilization, no abortion."

A woman from the B.C. interior told how she had been raped by three men and went to a gynecologist in Kamloops. He told her that if she had $1,000 he would send her to Japan where abortions are legal.

Another, who had become pregnant while at the University of Victoria, said she had come to Vancouver for a legal abortion, but only obtained it through constant lying and pretending she was insane. She said a psychiatrist told her he would tell the judging committee that she was mentally incapacitated. She and other women who managed to get legal abortions told of how the hospital staff at the Vancouver General Hospital where their abortions were performed made them feel like immoral persons and murderers.

Women described how they were refused abortions on the grounds that they were "irresponsible repeaters" applying for a second abortion. Other women were refused because the doctors decided that the women "were not old enough to decide for themselves."

One woman called this "Trudeau's Roulette" — you apply for an abortion and you take your chances depending on who you are, where you live, how much money you have, and the "power trip" of the particular doctors involved.

The case of a 17-year-old high school student from Abbotsford, B.C. who died as a result of an illegal abortion performed in Vancouver was cited as testimony. She had gone to a doctor in Abbotsford to apply for a legal abortion; she was two months pregnant at the time. He told her that she should have come in sooner. Besides she was under age, he pointed out, and would need parental consent. "These things are very complicated" he told her as he turned her away. Desperate, she went to Vancouver and paid $300 for a back alley butcher abortion. She hemorraged and died two days later.

Dr. Robert Makaroff, who had spent two years in jail because he performed abortions, also testified. He spoke against the abortion law and added his own case to that of the women who testified.

Members of the Presiding Committee were Isolde Belfont (chairwoman), Rosemary O'Brien, Courtenay Women's Group; Joyce Messenheimer, NDP Women's Rights Committee; and Lynda Little, Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC).

The tribunal recommended that the Canadian government repeal all sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion. It further urged that all women have the ready access to birth control deviees and information and early sex education; that opposition be expressed to forced or refused sterilization and any attempt to link the question of abortion to population control be rejected; and that every woman have the right to choose whether or not she wants to bear children.

The tribunal is one of many activities happening across the country in preparation for the conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition March 16-18 in Toronto. Joan Campana, cross country coordinator for the coalition just returned to Toronto from a western tour to build the conference.

Campana, who spoke to over 900 persons at 11 meetings in five western cities and was interviewed 23 times by the media, said that the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that abortion is a woman's right has had a big impact on people in this country. "They want to know what it means for us," she said.

"This tour was in many ways a call to action. We have to build the same kind of movement of women in Canada that was instrumental in getting the U.S. abortion laws overturned." Campana described the upcoming conference as "a protest action" and a conference to plan further action.

For further information on the confrence contact the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, Box 5673, Station A, Toronto, (863-9773).

Vancouver Women's Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception and Sterilization in session.

labor Challenge #74 Mar 1973

Sit-in wins NDP pledge on day care

by JOAN NEWBIGGING

VANCOUVER — From Feb. 1 to 11 a group of people occupied the provincial government's newly-opened Community Day Care Information Center here in Vancouver couver. The occupation came after months of endless hassles and fruitless discussions with the Social Credit-appointed government bureaucracy over child care regulations. The participants in the occupation, many of whom are actively involved in setting up community child care centers, were demanding that government regulations be changed in order to promote community initiative in establishing child care facilities.

Their action catalysed much of the discontent that exists in Vancouver over the urgent need for child care. It is estimated that there are only 1,000 child care places available in the city, whereas there are some 45,000 young children whose mothers work outside the home. Tens of thousands more also urgently need such facilities.

Support for the demands of the occupation was widespread, ranging from the NDP Women's Committee, to various PTA associations and children's aid groups, to the B.C. Women's Liberal Association. At times as many as 100 people participated in the occupation.

The NDP government, which is committed by convention decision to a program calling for 24 hour community — controlled child care, has promised action to remedy this desperate situation. It is conducting studies, initiating pilot projects, holding meetings with community groups, and a report is expected around April 1.

However no real changes have so far taken place. And given the enormity and urgency of the problem, many women have been forced to take the initiative themselves in setting up child care ters with the aid of government grants. Lack of cooperation from government bureaucrats and endless redtape have constantly thwarted their efforts.

The occupation ended after Welfare Minister Levi, whose department is responsible for child care, agreed to meet with a delegation. Betsy Wood, a participant in the occupation summed up the results of this meeting.

"Levi condensed our demands into three main points: 1) that money should be made available for community organizers to work with local groups in setting up child care; 2) that parents and people in the community should have the right to decide the hours of operation of the centers, the ages of children and the qualifications of workers; 3) that operational budgets to new centers should be prepaid two months before opening. We will draw up our ideas on these points in more detail and meet with Levi again next week."

Wood expressed confidence that all three demands would be met.

Many NDPers who supported the demands of the occupation, saw that this spotlighted once again the need for a ministry of women's rights. Such a ministry, if it were rooted in women's groups across the province, would bring enormous pressure to bear on the government to meet its responsibilities to women and to carry out NDP policy in this area. In collaboration with the ministry of education, it could develop a massive and innovative child care program throughout B.C. — one that could meet the needs of all women and all children.

Students batter Borowski

by STEVE HARDING

Joe Borowski, Manitoba MLA and outspoken opponent of women's right to abortion was featured on a recent taping of the "Under Attack" program at Carleton University. Elaine Bernard, of the Ottawa chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws and presidential candidate of the Carleton Young Socialists, led the attack from the student panel.

Although Borowski's pro-censorship and anti-birth control views were examined by the panel, the right of a woman to abortion became the central issue. Carleton students have seldom been moved to such anger and excitement as they were by Borowski's refusal to acknowledge that right.

Borowski constantly baited the audience with anti-youth and anti-women remarks. He called Bernard "sweetie" and a "snotty nosed kid." He brought some "statistics" and references to back his position, including the familiar photographs of fetuses. But slander and insult are more characteristic of his style than scholarship.

Bernard's demand for women to control their own bodies was likened to "prostitution." The Repeal movement's aims of safe, legal abortion was misconstrued by Borowski as enthusiasm for "sidewalk abortions." He insisted that the repeal supporters to be consistent must be in favor of capital punishment, since that was state murder and they favored "infanticide."

Borowski would permit abortions only to save the woman's life. He would not extend this to the victims of rape, and attempted to prove, that these women do not become pregnant!

He claimed that the victims managed to make some rearrangement of their internal organs and tissues during the assault and make conception impossible. The ex-salesman made further speculations into gynecology, but was drowned out by shouts from the audience.

Read
young socialist
CANADA'S MOST WIDELY READ SOCIALIST STUDENT PAPER
Subscriptions: One year, $1.00. Box 517, Station A, Toronto.

labor Challenge
#74 Mar 1973

Debates labor ties

Alta. NDP meets

By RICHARD THOMPSON

CALGARY, Feb. 11 — About 500 delegates, alternates and observers attended this weekend's provincial NDP convention, designed to gear up the party for the anticipated provincial election in 1974. Although the wide-ranging discussion brought about no significant changes in party policy, a number of important resolutions were adopted, including the reaffirmation of the NDP as a labor party.

In an emergency resolution, delegates voted overwhelmingly to endorse and support the March 17-18 cross-country conference of the Canadian Womens' Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws.

The keynote speech, given by NDP federal leader David Lewis, centered on the question of oil resources. Lewis got an enthusiastic response when he said "We can no longer afford to leave energy resources in private hands." Some took this to mean nationalization of the giant oil corporations. But Lewis qualified his statement, saying only that "we must look seriously" at a publicly-owned oil system, in order to "protect the national interest" against the rising U.S. demand for energy resources.

By a two-thirds majority, the convention decided to debate a special resolution on Canadian participation in the "supervisory" commission in Indochina. The resolution, opposing any Canadian intervention, was narrowly referred to the provincial executive after an extensive debate. Delegates from the Woodaworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship, a group of former CCFers who have long played a conservative role in the Edmonton peace movement, were particularly vociferous in their opposition to the resolution.

ALBERTA NDP LEADER. Grant Notley.

The main debate at the convention focussed on a motion challenging the NDP's ties to the trade unions. National Farmers Union organizer Anne Hemingway, later elected NDP vice-president, moved a resolution to eliminate all affiliate membership. Backers of the motion, including a number from the now-defunct Waffle group, argued that affiliated trade unions did not contribute their share to building the NDP.

But as one Edmonton delegate put it: "The resolution is an attempt to use an organizational measure to overcome a political problem. It's not a question of financial contributions. We need a party of the workers and all the oppressed. At the same time, the NDP must develop rank-and-file participation."

The question of the labor party, a party with organic links to the trade union movement and independent of the ruling class and its parties, was the center of the debate. Neil Reimer, Canadian head of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and former provincial NDP leader, told delegates that "U.S. workers still have to choose between capitalism and capitalism" by voting for Democrats or Republicans. Here, said Reimer, the working people have their own party, the NDP.

Re-elected leader Grant Notley and other party brass intervened strongly to ensure defeat of the non-affiliation motion. After a long discussion the motion was defeated.

Several left-wing delegates, running as individuals, were elected to the new executive. But unfortunately, the absence of an open and organized left caucus limited and blurred much of the policy debate, and did not present a clear alternative to the right-wing party leadership. The task of building such a caucus remains a challenge for the Alberta left.

labor Challenge #14 Mar 1973

Labor unity needed to fight Que. jailings

By RENE COURTNEY

On Feb. 16, NDP federal leader David Lewis paid his second visit to Orsainville prison outside Quebec City to express NDP solidarity with Quebec's three imprisoned trade union leaders — Marcel Pepin, Yvon Charbonneau and Louis Laberge. Lewis, accompanied by Quebec NDP leader Raymond Laliberte, was denied permission to enter the prison on the grounds that he was not "proche" — family to any of the Quebec Three.

Lewis's gesture of NDP solidarity stood out against a disquieting background of passivity and silence, an absence of significant protest against the jailings both in Quebec and across the country. The apparent resignation and confusion in labor's ranks in Quebec stands in vivid contrast to last May's massive strike wave sparked by the jailings of trade union leaders during the public workers strike.

At a rally called by the Quebec NDP on Feb. 17, leaders of all three union federations — including Fernand Daoust of the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ), Norbert Rodrigue of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN); Micheline Sicotte of the CEQ (Teachers), Marcel Perrault of the Montreal Labor Council and the postal workers, and Michel Chartrand of the Montreal Council of the CSN — put forward their views on how labor should respond to the Quebec government's current anti-labor drive, announced both by the jailings and by the vicious, strike-busting Bill 89.

The rally was held under the theme "The presidents of the three federations will remain in prison until Quebecois workers have become politicized." All of the leaders confined their remarks to sweeping denunciations of the injustices and the antilabor attack of the government; but none of them offered any proposals for actions designed to mobilize the labor movement against the government. The general outlook remained within the orbit of fears expressed that the labor leadership had gone too far in May 1972; that the ranks were demoralized and would not respond to protest actions or rallies called by the unions. Using the lack of politicization of the workers as an excuse for lack of action leads in a vicious circle. For how else will workers become politicized except through concrete struggles around political questions like Bill 89 and the jailing of the three labor leaders?

There are foreboding indications that the leaderships of the three federations have been paralyzed by the fracturing of trade union solidarity and unity forged in the Common Front during last year's strikes. The Common Front broke down during the vicious inter-union raiding between CSN and FTQ construction unions last fall, a feud which reached the proportions of inter-union violence.

The Quebec Teachers Union (CEQ) has called for the re-establishment of a Common Front to fight Bill 89 and the jailings, as has Marcel Pepin from his prison cell, but as yet no concrete measures and hardly any gestures have taken place to bring this about. The NDP rally Feb. 16 was the first time that the top representatives of the CNTU and the QFL agreed to share a common platform to confront their common enemy.

The three federations have not only been incapable of agreeing to a common strategy to mobilize mass opposition to the jailings, but have revealed disagreements on how to conduct themselves in relation to the government as long as their leaders are behind bars. On Feb. 15, Louis Laberge, president of the FTQ, took advantage of a government offer to leave prison for a day in order to take his seat in the "Consultative Conference on Labor and Manpower" sponsored by the Quebec Labor Department and attended by Jean Cournoyer, the minister of labor. Both the Quebec Teachers Union and the CSN condemned this measure and called for a policy of complete non-cooperation with the government so long as the leaders remain jailed. The CSN stated: "We decided not to take a seat at the conference with a noose around our necks, alongside of those who imprisoned us and we decided not to advise them on their repressive operation."

The failure of the Quebec trade union leadership to project a strategy to mobilize the ranks of labor against Bill 89 and against the jailings indicates the limitations that the bureaucratic nature of this leadership places on even the defensive capacities of the trade union movement, now under heavy attack by a boss government which has moved to take advantage of labor's disunity and confusion.

As was repeated many times from the platform at the NDP rally — the bosses and government in Quebec have a political strategy and political parties to carry it out. The working class and organized labor have neither.

What should be done? The Quebec labor movement — and the cross-Canadian labor movement and the NDP — cannot permit the present situation to persist. Concrete measures are required, beginning with the rebuilding of the Common Front of Quebec labor at all levels of the union movement, from the federations to the local unions.

Such a front is an elementary requirement of a strategy to block Bill 89, let alone force the release of the leaders. Within the framework of the Common Front, the union movement must project mass rallies, demonstrations and seek allies in other fields such as the student movement. It must end all cooperation with government bodies and agencies so long as trade union militants and leaders remain in jail.

In English Canada, the labor movement and the NDP must fill David Lewis's gesture of solidarity with real content. The NDP governments in B.C., Sask., and Manitoba must break their silence on this matter. They must oppose Bill 89 and call for the release of the Quebec Three. (When approached by the trade union weekly Quebec-Presse, the premiers' offices of all three NDP governments responded with "no comments.")

The CLC should appeal to all labor councils and union locals across the country to demand the release of the Quebec Three and to aid the fight against Bill 89 in Quebec. NDP riding associations, student councils, and other organizations should organize public protests and aid in publicizing the antidemocratic, antilabor content of Bill 89.

Nothing could be so dangerous and injurious to the cause of labor as the apparent shrugging off of the gravity of the jailings and of Bill 89 in the labor movement. If the leaders can be imprisoned in the absence of a powerful response, what can the thousands of rank and file militants who Marcel Pepin says "will have to break the law if Bill 89 becomes law" react? They too will tend to shrink back in fear that "nothing can be done until all the workers are politicized."

Labor Challenge #74 Mar 1973

Gov't agrees to bargain on native land claims

by DICK FIDLER

Trudeau's agreement Feb. 14 to negotiate a cash and land settlement with non-treaty Yukon Indians marks an important, partial victory for native peoples. It is the first time the federal government has agreed to discuss land claims with natives who never signed a treaty with the white invaders.

But the government has not recognized the underlying principle of native claims — their "aboriginal" rights as first inhabitants of the country, that is, legal title to the lands they now occupy. Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien said the agreement to negotiate did "not necessarily" mean an agreement by Ottawa that the natives have a legal claim.

Representatives of the Yukon Native Brotherhood presented Trudeau and federal officials with a position paper that calls for a tax-free cash settlement, royalties in perpetuity on oil and natural gas and mineral resources that are and will be exploited, and a temporary land-freeze to permit the natives to select lands to which they would have full title in perpetuity.

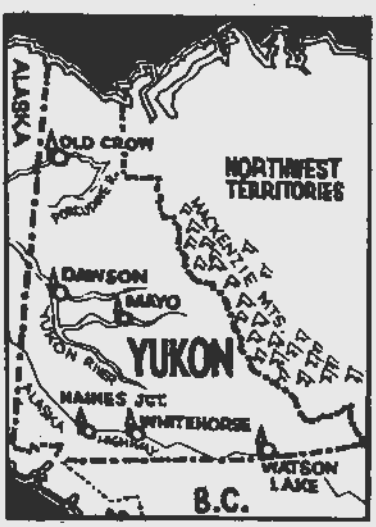
Ottawa's agreement to negotiate on the basis of these demands is a retreat from its 1969 White Paper's insistence that non-treaty Indians had no right to such claims. Only a minority of Canada's native peoples actually have signed treaties with the federal government.

A major factor in the government's backdown is undoubtedly its desire to brush aside native land claims as an obstacle to rapid exploitation of oil and gas reaources in the North. The Yukon natives claims include land to be traversed by the projected Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

Another consideration in Ottawa was noted by the editors of the Globe and Mail, Feb. 16: The Liberal government, like the Nixon administration which recently made a cash settlement with Alaska natives, sees such a settlement as a way of "reducing the government's present commitment to footing the entire bill for the health and education of status Indians."

Trudeau congratulated the YNB leaders for their pragmatism in not insisting the government concede the principle of aboriginal rights prior to undertaking negotiations, but instead simply negotiating on concrete demands. But any cash settlement which fails to recognize aboriginal rights could absolve the government from any further responsibility to native peoples as natives — thus laying the basis for their further victimization in the long run.

Another complication is that the Yukon's non-status Indians (who include people of mixed ancestry and Indians who have lost their status through marriage) have rejected the land settlement proposal drafted by the territory's 3,200 registered Indians, on the grounds it does not include all residents of the Yukon of Indian ancestry. The Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians has called on Trudeau to "withhold his reaction to the brotherhood brief until he receives our views."



YUKON TERRITORY. Map shows area covered by Indian claims.

labor Challenge #14 Mar 1973

Editorial

Israel guilty of mass murder

On Feb. 21, in an act of cold-blooded mass murder, Israeli jet fighters shot down a Libyan Boeing 727 airliner which had strayed over Israeli-occupied territory on the Sinai peninsula — just seven minutes from Cairo airport. One hundred and six of its 113 passengers and crew were killed. Recorded messages confirm that the pilot was never made aware his pursuers were Israelis.

In sharp contrast to the public hysteria whipped up by the leaders of world capitalism in the wake of the Munich killings last September, there has been next to silence on this latest Israeli atrocity. In what one Libyan newspaper likened to "a murderer who attends the funeral of his victims," Nixon who urged Israeli reprisals after Munich, offered no more than condolences to Libya.

External Affairs Minister Sharp, reacting in the face of world public opinion, conceded only that he was "not satisfied" that the Israeli action "was unavoidable."

Moshe Dayan has continued to disclaim Israeli responsibility for the act, describing it as an "unfortunate incident and the fault of the airliner's captain.

Yet the downing of the Libyan airliner followed only 12 hours after the deepest raid on record by Israeli forces into neighboring Lebanon. In the first land attack on Lebanon since September, and accompanied by naval shelling, Israeli troops invaded Nahar al Bared and Badawi, north of Tripoli. Described by the Israeli military as guerrilla bases, both are in fact refugee camps with a combined population of 18,000. The former was subject to Israeli bombing raids last Sept. 8.

While casualty estimates of this latest raid differed, Israeli military sources claimed "dozens" of Palestinians were killed — among them women and children, martyred in the rubble of their homes.

This latest round of Israeli atrocities, conducted in full view of the world, is only a continuation of the Zionist states' basic strategy pursued over the past 24 years. Dependent on imperialism for its very existence, Israel was founded and is based upon massive terrorism and military force, the oppression of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and the physical destruction of all that stands in the road of its expansionist ambitions. Having driven the Palestinians from their land, and expanded its original conquests in the June 1967 war, Israel is not content even to allow the Palestinians peace in exile.

Whatever its protestations to the contrary, or the excuses offered by its imperialist allies, the purpose of these atrocities is hardly to defend Israel from the Palestinian attacks. Rather, while it practices torture against its opponents at home, extended now even to Jews, Israel attempts to provoke the Arab regimes into further containing the Palestinian movement for self-determination. Having promised the Jews sanctity from decades of persecution, Zionism would risk their lives in a general Mideast war.

The Palestinians were banned early last year from carrying out attacks on Israel from Lebanese soil. The Lebanese army has occupied several former Palestinian resistance movement bases to enforce this ban. Yet the most recent Israeli attack on Lebanon would indicate that even these chains on the Palestinian liberation movement do not satisfy Israel.

The mood of the Arab masses was shown at the funeral for Libyan victims of the Israeli air force. Police and riot troops, armed with clubs and machine guns, went into action to defend Libyan president, Muammar Gaddafi from 15,000 demonstrators, angered by the Arab regimes' complicity with Israel in containing the Palestinian revolution.

So long as the Zionist state remains intact, the Palestinians will suffer national oppression. The atrocities will continue, if they do not erupt in full-scale war. And neither Arab nor Jew can live in peace.

The solution to the ongoing crisis of the Middle East lies only along the road to the Palestinian resistance struggle, the dismantlement of the Israeli Zionist state and its replacement by a democratic, secular Palestine.

labor Challenge

#74 Mar 1973

In brief

YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONTEST CAMPUS ELECTIONS

The Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes are waging a campaign for student government positions across the country. Viewing mass struggle as the key way of winning fundamental change in the university and society, the YS-LJS sees its participation in student government elections as part of the process of building the independent power of students.

The United Left Slate, a coalition of York University student militants, recently lost the presidential election by only 20 votes. The presidential candidate was Dale Ritch, YS organizer at York, and a leader of the anti-cutback campaign.

In a campaign at the University of British Columbia, a reactionary constitutional ruling barring political clubs from running in the student elections prevented the YS from running a slate in its own name. Members of the YS formed a Socialist Slate, which focused its campaign on putting forward a strategy of struggle by UBC women to win implementation of the recently-published Report on the Status of Women at UBC.

In Regina, the Common Front, a coalition of members of the YS and other student activists won between 20 and 25 percent of the vote in the February election. The campaign centered on the fight against cutbacks in education spending.

At the University of Alberta, in Edmonton, Young Socialists are running a full slate in the March 9 student union elections.

The University of Toronto Young Socialists have established a coalition with the Old Mole to contest the elections. The united slate will raise demands around women's liberation, Vietnam and the educational cutbacks.

More information on the YS-LJS campaigns is in the March issue of the socialist student monthly Young Socialist, P.O. Box 517, Station A, Toronto, Ont.

advertisement

Meet the LSA & YS

Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
League for Socialist Action/
Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

Edmonton — LSA, YS, No. 6, 10518 — 82 Ave., 432-7358; **Fredericton** — YS, Student Union Building UNB, 454-9270; **Guelph** — YS, c-o Tom Baker, Box 19, Ontario Vet. College, University of Guelph; **Halifax-Dartmouth** — YS, P.O. Box 932, Halifax, 454-2563, 423-4314; **Hamilton** — 1001 Main St. W., Apt. 116, 528-6200; **Hull** — LJS, a-s S. Trudeau, 101 boul. Sacre-coeur, app. 401, 770-7471; **Kitchener-Waterloo** — LSA, YS, Box 921, Kitchener, 576-2293; **Montreal** — LSO, LJS, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, 861-3018 **Orillia** — LSA, YS, Box 835; **Ottawa** — No. 1, 418 Somerset St. W., 232-2171; **Peterborough** — YS, 429 Stewart St., 745-9819; **Regina** — YS, Box 623; **Richmond Hill** — LSA, YS, Box 281; **Saskatoon** — YS, Box 704; **St. Catharines** — LSA, Box 343; **Toronto** — LSA, YS, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618 or 364-4056. North Metro LSA, 5740 Yonge St., Willowdale, 221-5425; **Vancouver** — LSA, YS, 1208 Granville St., 688-5924; **Winnipeg** — LSA, YS, No. 728, 416 Main St., 943-7791.

Feminism and the abortion campaign/3

labor Challenge

#75 Mar 17 1973

Free Big 3, Que. labor demands

JAILED LABOR LEADERS. Presidents of unions in Common Front (left to right) Louis Laberge, Yvon Charbonneau and Marcel Pepin, now behind bars, on way to Orsainville prison last May, when massive strike shook Quebec. Protests against jailings are once again growing across Quebec.

Campaigns are beginning to develop in both Quebec and English Canada for the immediate unconditional release of the three Quebec labor leaders now in jail.

Marcel Pepin, Louis Laberge and Yvon Charbonneau, presidents of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ), were recently imprisoned in Orsainville Jail because they advised striking public sector workers last spring to ignore court injunctions brought against them by the Bourassa government.

The newly-formed Action Committee for the Unconditional Release of the Trade Union Prisoners at Orsainville (CALIPSO — Comité d'action pour la libération inconditionnelle des prisonniers syndicaux d'Orsainville) met at CSN headquarters in Montreal March 11. Present were FTQ secretary-general Fernand Daoust, political action staffers of the three labor federations, other union militants, as well as representatives of left-wing organizations like the NDP, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) and the Communist party.

The meeting adopted a vigorous plan of action aimed at mobilizing the population. It includes regional information meetings to be held across Quebec, benefits featuring leading entertainers, showings of political and labor films, panels with representatives of the international labor movement, and a mass benefit in Montreal at the end of April. A vast publicity campaign is envisaged, including leaflets, stickers, posters, petitions, and a special newspaper.

In recent days resolutions of support for the labor leaders have begun to flood in on the Bourassa government from local unions and regional labor councils across Quebec. Among those demanding immediate release of the three leaders and denouncing the current repression against the unions are the FTQ labor councils in Baie-Comeau and Lower Gaspe, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and locals of the Steelworkers, Paper Workers, Machinists, Chemical Workers, NABET, the Bakery Workers Union and the Graphic Arts union.

CSN and CEQ locals have responded similarly. In the Saguenay region, teachers voted to stop work and hold a "day of reflection on justice and democracy in Quebec" on March 9. →p.2

'Energy crisis'-some questions and answers/6
British unions call one-day general strike /11

The prestigious Ligue des Droits de l'Homme has added its voice to those of other organizations demanding pardon for the three unionists.

In English Canada, a Canadian Committee to Defend Quebec Trade Unionists has been formed, In a letter to labor, student and radical organizations calling for opposition to the jailings, the committee encloses an appeal "to trade unionists and supporters of trade union rights across Canada" from the FTQ's Fernand Daoust, who states: "The jailings of the three trade union presidents at this time can only be seen as a means to intimidate all working people in Quebec who now face the threat of more severe antilabor legislation and are engaged in a struggle to oppose and defeat Bill 89. (Bill 89, now before the National Assembly, would empower the government to ban strikes in "essential services.")

"We appeal to our brothers and sisters across Canada and to all those who value and support basic trade union rights to add their voices to the demand for the immediate, unconditional release of Brothers Charbonneau, Laberge and Pepin."

The campaign is only beginning. As it builds, it can develop a momentum that can serve to rebuild the military of the labor movement in Quebec, now in retreat before the blows of repression and disunity.

To help build the campaign in English Canada, contact the Canadian Committee to Defend Quebec Trade Unionists, c/o Gustavo Tolentino, MD, secretary, 3 Ozark Crescent, Toronto, Ont.

Drive for new readers

Drive extended to April 21

by DARREL FURLOTTE
Subscription drive coordinator

Off to a slow start, Labor Challenge's subscription drive has been extended to April 21. Through a combination of subscriptions from new readers and renewals from readers who purchased introductory subscriptions in our Fall drive, we have set a goal of 500 subscriptions by the end of the drive.

The drive for new subscribers and renewals is being combined with a campaign to sell single copies of Labor Challenge on a larger scale. We want to reach every person who is interested in socialist ideas.

We were late in sending out sales materials to our supporters and the subscription drive is behind schedule. But we are confident that our supporters will put out the extra effort needed to reach their quotas. If any of our readers are willing to help in the drive, please write us. We'll be glad to send you subscription blanks, a bundle of papers, or anything else we can, to help increase our circulation.

Of the 52 subscribers we have obtained in the drive so far, 18 have taken advantage of our special book offer. And we've decided to extend it to our present subscribers. If you send us $5.00, we will extend your subscription by 24 issues and send you the book of your choice from the following list.

1. DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR by Ernest Mandel
2. AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel
3. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM by George Novack
4. THEIR MORALS AND OURS by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey and George Novack
5. MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY
6. PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION by Evelyn Reed
7. A REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE '70s, Documents of the Socialist Workers Party
8. REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST STUDENTS IN POLAND SPEAK OUT by Kuron and Modzelewski
9. SOCIALISM ON TRIAL by James P. Cannon
10. THE MARXIST THEORY OF ALIENATION by George Novack and Ernest Mandel.

clip and mail to LABOR CHALLENGE, Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

ONE YEAR $4. ( )

INTRODUCTORY SUB (8 issues) $1. ( )

special offer $1. ( )

SEND ME BOOK # _____
(This offer is good until March 31, 1973)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Prov. _____

Phone _____

labor Challenge #15 Mar 1973

Conference for abortion law repeal

The case for a women's coalition

by LIS ANGUS

The second cross-country conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), being held in Toronto March 16-18, is a significant event for the Canadian women's movement.

The conference takes place in the context of a rapidly growing sentiment for abortion law repeal and a mushrooming international repeal movement. This movement won a major victory in January with the ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court, which overturned restrictive abortion laws in 46 states.

At the same time, opponents of repeal and of women's right to abortion are marshalling their forces. Manitoba MLA Joe Borowski continues to attack the repeal movement. "Right to Life" forces are holding a cross-country meeting this month. And the Canadian government, by firmly refusing to even debate the question in Parliament, has lined itself up solidly on the side of these reactionary forces.

And it is conscinusly bolstering those forces. In an interview with Southam News Services March 5, federal Justice Minister Otto Lang said he was "concerned" that the present restrictive abortion laws are being interpreted too broadly by some doctors and hospital committees. He has ordered a special study of hospital committees, which may be functioning as "rubber stamps" for women who want abortions.

The CWC conference has been called to unite the growing forces who support repeal, and to project plans for coordinated action in the coming months.

A major achievement of the abortion law repeal campaign, beginning with the Abortion Caravan action in the spring of 1970, has been to take the abortion issue out of the realm of population control and focus it on women's rights.

It is around this concept — that women have a right to decide whether to continue a pregnancy — that the key debates of this conference will center.

The policy of the Canadian Women's Coalition, established at its founding conference in Winnipeg a year ago, states that since abortion is a woman's right, the repeal struggle is primarily a women's struggle. The key task is to unite women in that struggle. This means that the formulation of goals and strategy for the campaign should be done by women and that the leadership of the campaign will be women.

This policy is being questioned by some forces in the repeal movement who feel that the CWC should open its decision-making meetings to men.

But the struggle to win the right to abortion is primarily a women's struggle. It is women whose lives are completely changed by a pregnancy, wanted or not. It is women who are constantly threatened with the possibility of an unwanted pregnancy, and by the fact that we have little or no control over pregnancy.

It is women who, by the thousands, face humiliating and dangerous delays and red tape prolonged by hospital abortion committees; who risk mutilation and even death at the hands of back-alley abortionists; who — the ones who can afford it — pay high prices to get abortions outside the country; or who resign themselves to giving birth to children they did not choose to nave.

The fight to win repeal of the abortion laws is part of the world-wide struggle for women's rights. The fact that we are denied access to abortion is no accident — it is part of our oppression as women. And our lack of control over pregnancy is used to tie us to our traditional role in the family and to deny us control over other aspects of our lives — it is used to justify inadequate education, less pay, less access to job promotions, etc.

Women are divided from each other. It is the division and isolation that makes our continued oppression possible, and is key to maintaining our subservient role in society.

Collective action makes it possible for us to fight our oppression. Women are taught to be passive and submissive. It is not easy for us to learn to be leaders, organizers, speakers. It is in collective action that we learn these things; and it is through collective action that we will win struggles like the fight for abortion law repeal.

The key role in the struggle for the right to abortion will be played by women. No one else can win this victory for us. Male supporters can help, but women are the backbone of the campaign. And women must reserve the right to plan the tempo and actions of the campaign themselves.

This does not mean that men are excluded from the activities of the campaign, or that this policy excludes organizations which have men among their members.

→ p. 2

p.2

The Canadian Women's Coalition is an **action coalition**; it provides a framework for individuals and groups to unite in coordinated actions planned by CWC conferences and meetings.

The CWC does not expect other groups to dissolve their independent identities into the CWC, but simply encourages them to support the united actions of the campaign. The activites of the CWC aim to broaden the support from other organizations — particularly from organizations which can play a big role in furthering women's struggles, such as the NDP.

Because the repeal struggle is primarily a women's struggle, the coalition asks that organizations with mixed membership send women delegates to decision-making meetings — although the public activities of the coalition are of course open to men.

The repeal movement is under heavy pressure to tone down the feminist nature of the campaign, to make it more "respectable." These pressures originate with the ruling class of our society, who have an interest in maintaining women's oppression and in dividing the women's movement — in preventing women from uniting in effective action against our oppression.

GRACE MacINNIS. NDP MP presses abortion repeal bill in parliament.

JOAN CAMPANA, cross-country coordinator of abortion rights coalition.

It is this pressure on the movement which is reflected in suggestions that coalition decision-making be opened to men. It is also reflected in uneasiness with the concept that abortion is a woman's right. This uneasiness crops up in calls for various restrictions on abortion rather than total repeal, and in formulations like "abortion should be a private matter between a woman and her doctor." In fact this phrase is used on the petition presently being circulated by the Canadian Women's Coalition.

But this phrase contradicts — or at least blurs — the clear focus of "abortion: a woman's right to choose." It gives something to the idea — so deeply rooted in our society — that women are not really capable of making responsible decisions on their own — they must be accountable to someone.

The upcoming CWC conference must clearly reaffirm the CWC policy of a woman's action coalition, united around the concept that abortion is a woman's right.

It is the united actions of the coalition that will forge the strong movement we need to win this victory. The proposal for a cross-country tribunal on abortion, made at the Feb. 4 CWC coordinating committee meeting in Saskatoon, is an action which would play a big role in building the repeal campaign; it would be a powerful denunciation of the government in the name of the women of Canada. Such actions orient the repeal movement towards gaining mass support, to becoming a mass movement.

It is such actions, built by a women's action coalition around the theme of "abortion: a woman's right to choose", that will most effectively further our cause.

labor Challenge #75 Mar 1973

Sisterhood is powerful

TORONTO ABORTION MEETING ATTENDED BY 500 — Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal doctor facing 3 charges of performing illegal abortions, told a Town Hall meeting in Toronto that for a doctor to refuse to perform an abortion when a woman wants one, is "criminal behaviour." He added, "I am not for or against abortion. The decision must be the woman's." Morgentaler said that he sees his court case as a "fundamental battle for self-determination for women because they will not be emancipated until they control their reproductive cycle. That is why I hope to challenge this cruel and barbarous law and have publicly defied it."

Morgentaler was one of several speakers who addressed the meeting of 500. The panel, led by moderator June Callwood, also included Patrice Merrin, Executive Secretary of Planned Parenthood of Toronto, Joan Campana and Ellen May of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC), and Toronto lawyer and former NDP candidate Mary Boyce.

A small group of anti-abortionists, mostly men, circulated pictures of fetuses, and interrupted speakers, charging that "abortion is murder" and that the meeting should be discussing birth control. Joan Campana of the CWC, pointed out in her reply that the abortion law repeal forces are "not out to prevent pregnancy, but to prevent **unwanted** pregnancy. We're for the right of women to **choose**. That is what your position denies to women — the right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy brought about by accident or even by violence. You would force women to be mothers against their will."

Ellen May, also representing the Canadian Women's Coalition, described the Coalition's fight to get the Canadian abortion laws repealed. "As long as one woman dies as a result of an illegal abortion," she told the meeting, "we will continue to fight. No one but the woman involved is fully aware of the stresses in an unwanted pregnancy and therefore no one but the woman herself should be able to determine whether or not to obtain an abortion. That is why these laws must be repealed.

The meeting was organized to build for the second cross-Canada conference for abortion law repeal, sponsored by the Canadian Women's Coalition, March 16-18. The conference will be opened with a public rally to be addressed by many prominent speakers, including Dr. Morgentaler and Patrice Merrin, Laura Sabia, Chairwoman of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Eleanor Wright Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada, Dr. Barbara Roberts from the American abortion law repeal movement and Joan Campana of the Canadian Women's Coalition.

NEW YORK MEETING BACKS INTERNATIONAL ABORTION FIGHT — In the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court decision recognizing a woman's right to abortion, the American abortion law repeal movement sponsored an International Women's Day Solidarity Meeting, held in New York March 10.

800 attended the meeting, representing five countries where women have made abortion a major issue — Belgium, France, Canada, Scotland and the United States.

Among the speakers were Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Claude Sirvan-Schreiber, associate editor of Ms., and Michelle Chevalier, mother of Marie-Claire Chevalier, recently acquitted in the French courts of charges of obtaining an abortion. Lawyer Gisele Halimi, who defended the Chevaliers, was also present. She described the situation in France, where some 1,000,000 illegal abortions are performed every year as, one in which "the lawmakers make women slaves."

Michelle Chevalier, who was convicted of procuring the abortion for her daughter, and given a suspended sentence, told the meeting, "I fought not only for Marie-Claire and myself, but for all women. I am in solidarity with all women everywhere who are convicted of abortion."

The Canadian abortion law repeal movement was represented by Ellen May of the Canadian Women's coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, who told the rally, "We must show the world that the American victory is only the first of many such victories."

ABORTION BECOMES ISSUE IN BELGIUM — In Belgium, growing sentiment in favor of the right of women to abortion is forcing the government to consider so-called "liberalized" abortion laws, similar to the provisions of Canada's Criminal Code. The Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly, La Gauche, reports that the most recent opinion poll shows a sizeable majority in favor of liberalization of the laws.

The proposed legislation is a significant development in the heavily Catholic-dominated social and political life of Belgium. Nevertheless, as La Gauche points out, the proposal is "totally unacceptable" because "it does not give the freedom of decision to the woman but to a committee of doctors. Thus women are being dealt with as if they were reproductive animals who are too stupid to be given the right to decide what to do with whatever is going on in side their own bodies".

La Gauche goes on to call for "the complete right to free contraception and abortion as a condition for the liberation of women in their struggle for emancipation".

— KATE ALDERDICE

Labor Challenge #73 Mar 1973

UQAM strike ends, struggle goes on

A "common front" of students, professors and support staff has been formed at the 12,000-student Universite du Quebec a Montreal to fight the "climate of repression" which has existed at the university since students returned to classes March 5.

Hired thugs from security agencies armed with baseball bats, are patrolling halls. About 15 support employees have been laid off by the administration since the student strike; professors are protesting administration requirements that they submit detailed reports on how they plan to catch up for time lost in classes; and students charge that the administration is reneging on public commitments to pass on to them student loan cheques from the government.

A mass student assembly voted March 4 to end the five-week strike and "continue the struggle within the university." The main issue had been students' demands for the right to pay tuition fees up to three years after graduation. The struggle had spread to the University of Montreal with support committees forming in several CEGEPs, and winning support from many trade unions.

The strike was coordinated and led by a provisional organizing committee of the students (COPE).

The administration responded by a court injunction banning student picketing, and an ultimatum March 1 by the Board of Governors that no credits would be given unless classes resumed immediately. A student boycott had closed the university entirely from Feb. 16.

A COPE spokesman said the students decided to return to classes "only because of the impossibility of continuing the strike in the face of the university's stand . . . Students will continue to withhold their tuition fees."

The March 4 students' assembly voted to "develop the COPE as a militant structure and to reaffirm the principle of sovereign general assemblies . . ."

It also proposed to tighten up structures for "an even stronger mass mobilization in Sevtember," to develop closer links with teachers and support staff and extend the movement to other universities and CEGEPs, and to "clarify the political implications of the present student struggles."

It said the administration had rejected a negotiated settlement for political, not financial reasons, because it feared "recognition of a fighting student movement would disturb its social peace."

While the students "have not yet got satisfaction on their fundamental demand concerning the non-exclusion of students for financial reasons," the strike movement had brought about the consolidation of "student-teacher-support staff solidarity and thereby isolated the authoritarian administration of the UQAM."

STUDENT STRIKE. Some 800 students from Montreal universities and colleges demonstrated March 2 against injunctions outlawing picketing near universities where students are struggling for deferment of tuition fees payments.

Meetings celebrate Int'l Women's Day

Two actions were organized by Women's Place, an organizing centre for women's activities in Toronto, to celebrate International Women's Day, a day of solidarity with women around the world struggling for their liberation.

The first of these actions was a lunch-hour rally in City Hall Square, March 8, attended by about 150 women. The rally heard speakers from the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), and the newly founded Association of Commercial and Technical Employees (ACTE), which is conducting an organizing drive among predominantly women office workers.

Representatives of striking Wardair stewardesses and Dare Foods Ltd. workers in Kitchener also spoke, and the action included singing and skits.

A disturbing aspect of the action was the refusal of the organizers to allow a speaker from the League for Socialist Action to address the rally on the grounds that no "organizations" would be participating. The league for Socialist Action has been prominent in the women's liberation movement since its inception, and has been speaking to working women for years about how to struggle against their oppression.

The rally was followed up by a day-long Women's Festival on March 11. It included workshops on working women and the socialization of women, an art auction and displays, and a women's party in the evening.

One unfortunate incident marred the day's activities. The conference organizers announced in advance that the working women's workshop would be open to women only. This was challenged during the festival, and a vote taken of the women present to decide what the policy would be. No discussion was opened up on the question, and undoubtedly many women were unaware of the issues involved. Consequently, the conference organizers lost the vote, and men were allowed into the session.

photo by McInnis

Lis Angus

This decision directly cut across the whole spirit of International Women's Day, which affirms the right of women to organize independently and to make their own decisions about how to struggle for their liberation.

In another International Women's Day celebration, a special Vanguard Forum, sponsored by the Toronto League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists, heard Lis Angus, a leader of the abortion law repeal movement and a frequent contributor to Labor Challenge, speak on Feminism and the Marxist Movement.

Angus described the traditions behind International Women's Day, first declared by a meeting of socialist women in Copenhagen in 1910, and showed how the Marxist movement has always embraced feminism, and has helped build and lead the latest upsurge of the women's liberation movement. "As Marxists," she said, "we recognize that the oppression of women is one of the key underpinnings of the rule of class society, and that the struggle for women's liberation is part of the struggle for socialism."

#75

labor Challenge #15 Mar 1973

Manitoba feminists debate Borowski

by DONNA NELSON

"Keep your trousers on!" That was the arrogant advice offered by Manitoba MLA, Joe Borowski, to a crowd of 300 attending a student-organized debate on women's right to abortion at Lord Selkirk High School, Selkirk, Manitoba.

Borowski, and Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Art Siemen, both prominent anti-abortion spokesmen, debated Brenda Dineen and Ruth Shell of the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition (MAAC).

Borowski, who recently introduced a bill into the Manitoba legislature which would remove abortion from coverage under the province's medical insurance program, declared the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision a situation "almost like Russia. In Russia you have rule by the gun. Here it's rule by the judiciary." He said women are getting abortions for "frivolous reasons" and therefore breaking the law. If the present law is repealed, he argued, legalization of prostitution and heroin might be next. "Where is it going to stop?"

photo by Jeff White

Brenda Dineen

While neither Borowski nor Siemen were willing to call a fetus a human being both insisted on declaring abortion "murder."

Shell, a high school woman active in the MAAC, spoke of the special oppression young women face under the present abortion laws, and the campaign of Winnipeg high school women to get birth control information into the schools. She told the audience of a 17-year-old high school student who recently died of an illegal abortion in Vancouver.

This case only happened to come out in the open, Shell said. "Most illegal abortions and deaths that result from them are never spoken of in the press and most people never hear of the suffering thousands of women undergo.

"Women are forced to be breeders against their will," Shell explained. "Our campaign is against enforced motherhood — for every woman's right to choose when and if to continue a pregnancy."

Dineen reiterated the commitment of women to win control of their bodies, emphasizing the international character of the campaign for repeal of restrictive abortion laws.

"We are going to build a massive campaign in this country," she said. "We say no doctor, no laws, no institution has the right to impose its views or morality on women."

Borowski ended the meeting with the declaration that he would not take a position on contraception. "I leave that to the theologians," he said. We would suggest that former cabinet minister heed his own advice, keep his anti-women views to himself and leave to women the decisions over their own bodies.

United Tendency call

[*Note in RD's handwriting : « At meeting of April 11/73. We decided to not proceed with this »]* (Notes throughout by Gord D: Ross Dowson & Hans, U.T. about April/73")

The United Tendency of the LSA/LSO calls for a return to the theory and practice regarding the New Democratic Party as expressed in the documents, "Our Orientation to the NDP: the Strategy and Tactical Application" (presented to the 1970 Convention of the LSA/LSO –note by GD) and "The NDP and the Waffle," which was adopted by the 1971 Plenum of the LSA/LSO.

Commencing, notably, with an incorrect application of our line in the left-wing Waffle struggle against the right-wing social-democratic leadership of the Ontario NDP, the LSA has committed a series of errors in our intervention in the Ontario NDP. These errors have continued as the left forces in the ONDP declined. Though they do not flow from a false strategy on the part of our movement to the NDP and to the CCF before it, as the Revolutionary Communist Tendency alleges, these errors do constitute a pattern of false practice. These errors demonstrate a tendency to bend to both ultraleft and to right-wing pressures on our movement, pressures that have increased as the left-wing in the ONDP collapsed after the exit of the Waffle-MISC.

To begin with, the political resolution, now before the movement, dismisses the Waffle experience in its entirely as a "debacle." It lays the blame for the Waffle's "desertion" from the ONDP on "the disorienting effect of the wave of nationalism on the left, pulling the Waffle leadership away from a class struggle orientation." (Political Resolution, p. 52.)

First, the P.C. majority's evaluation is based on two self-fulfilling propositions: a) that nationalism in advanced capitalist English Canada is reactionary, and b) that to leave the NDP is to break from class politics (note by G.D.: is this answered?)

The United Tendency has presented a rounded, materialist analysis on the progressive character of this new nationalism that permeates every level of the radicalization.

The P.C. majority's position also constitutes a mechanical and formalistic interpretation of our NDP orientation. The forces that gathered around the Waffle to build it into the broadest and most militant left formation in the whole history of the NDP and CCF, after a turbulent confrontation with the right-wing ONDP brass, moved away from the NDP. The LSA/LSO informed it that to leave the NDP was much more than abandoning a structure that reflected the present political consciousness of the Canadian working class, but that it meant in fact **deserting the class itself** – the only class that could establish socialism in Canada – that it was to betray socialism.

We made a fetish of our NDP intervention. By portraying the NDP as the **sine qua non** of revolutionary politics and leaving it as a desertion of the class, we rendered our efforts to project and recruit to the Trotskyist LSA/LSO irrelevant, as we made the chief

significance of the LSA in appealing to Waffle-MISC adherents its orientation to the NDP. Our attacks against their "nationalist deviation," about which we suddenly became extremely avid, added to our isolation from these forces. As if to prove to them the magnitude of their error, we commenced to paint up the class significance of the NDP which they had left.

Contrary to all predictions that its nationalism would take it to the right and out of class politics, (& contrary to P.R. that no significant layer of left-wing militants broke away from the NDP –note by G.D.) the Waffle-MISC remains a powerful force and a growing one on the left. In fact, it is a powerful pole of counter-attraction to the League which we must come to grips with.

In the past months since the Waffle's forced exist from the ONDP, our intervention in the NDP has become separated into two distinct pressures – the one in the Left Caucus, where we adapt to and seek to keep up with the ultraleft in their mechanical revelations that the NDP is indeed not a revolutionary socialist party; and on the other hand, our posture of uncritically extolling the class significance of the NDP.

The following are examples of adaptation in practice to ultraleft pressures on us:

1) When the Canadian government decided to join the International Commission for Supervision and Control of the Vietnam Accords, we correctly launched a campaign against it. We saw Ottawa's action as being designed to save the interests of US and world imperialism, as a violation of the right of Vietnamese self-determination and possibly a wedge to permit a return of US forces under more favourable circumstances.

   The NDP parliamentary caucus underwrote the Liberal government's actions. But instead of launching a public protest against the Liberal government, thus showing our opposition to the NDP leadership's treachery, or of initiating protests and an educational campaign through NDP constituency associations, leading comrades now associated with the RCT and in sympathy with forces in the Red Circle initiated actions to hold a public picket line against the NDP leadership. (This increased ultraleft colouration of the Left Caucus & constitutes a tactical error leaving us open to expulsion, etc. –note by G.D.) The Toronto LSA leadership ceded to this proposition and only corrected the situation under considerable difficulty and at the very last moment.

2) The Ontario NDP left caucus now composed *(*not surprisingly –G.D.) largely of our own forces and the Red Circle, decided to prepare a manifesto for the coming NDP federal convention. A leading comrade now in the RCT who became chairman of the drafting committee, made a verbal outline of a draft to the LSA Metro Toronto committee for consideration. While his projection was in serious violation of our traditional concept of developing a series of democratic and transitional demands around which a broad left wing could genuinely coalesce (this "manifesto" projected demands designed to polarize a revolutionary socialist

current in contest for the leadership of the NDP) – the Metro Toronto LSA leadership including the Metro organizer initially went along with this draft with only minor criticisms. This incorrect line was carried back into the Left Caucus where support was built up behind it so that the necessary correction is tending toward a showdown struggle with the ultraleft in the Left Caucus.

3) While it is true that the electoral opportunism of the NDP brass causes it to tone down its labor base, the October 9, 1972 issue of *Labor Challenge* echoed the line of the ultraleft Red Circle that the NDP, firmly based on organized labor, was in the process of dumping all identification with, not to speak of support for, organized labor.

"The labor plank of the Left Caucus platform," we wrote, "is a reflection of the caucus' concern that the party leadership wants to abandon the NDP's traditional identification with the labor movement…."Another article in the same issue had the Manitoba government curbing the independent strength of the trade unions: "Far from curbing the independent strength of the trade unions," we remonstrated, "the NDP must identify with organized labor …. Many NDP members – in particular, the socialist wing of the party – have pushed for such an explicit pro-labor position within the party."

At the same time as we have adapted to ultraleft pressures, we have also adapted to pressures from the right.

The latter error in the application of our line can be most clearly seen in articles of a completely uncritical character appearing especially at the time of last year's federal election campaign.

Some issues of our press at that time became little more than NDP election campaign propaganda sheets: in effect we adapted to the NDP leadership's electoralism. The completely uncritical attitude to the leadership of the party was made all the more difficult to grasp when we recall that this election followed immediately on the heels of the forcible exit of the Waffle from the Ontario NDP.

In several subsequent issues, notably November 20, 1972 and January 22, 1973, instead of acting as advisors to the left wing against the reformist leadership, we carried material that firmly placed us in the role of advisors to the NDP leadership in their parliamentary machinations.

What is behind this disjointed application of our NDP orientation, this adaptationism to both left and right pressures? (Note by G.D.: Was the prettifying of the NDP a convoluted polemic on the Waffle?)

That this should have become an acute matter in the last several months would seem to flow out of the right wing's assault on Waffle, its exit from the party and the left wing being considerably reduced in both numbers and influence. Without the

Waffle-MISC, which now stands aside from the NDP, the left wing is now under pressures to adapt to the right or to swing out in an ultraleft direction that threatens it with disaster.

The majority's formulation and application of our NDP orientation has become schematized, disintegrated and its dialectical unity has been broken. We no longer guide ourselves by that succinct and eminently dialectical formulation – "The NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against, stands both on the way and athwart the way to building the revolutionary vanguard."
(end)

POLITICAL COMMITTEE PLATFORM

The Political Committee has submitted four line resolutions for discussion and for a vote at the coming convention of the LSA/LSO. These are: the Political Resolution (Bulletin #31), Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism (Bulletin #17), Women's Liberation Resolution (Bulletin #14), and the Quebec Resolution (Bulletin #20). In addition, the Central Committee has adopted reports on the world movement at its September and January plenums, which have been submitted to the discussion bulletin. The reports on the world movement, together with the four line resolutions, constitute the general line proposed by the Political Committee for the global activity of the movement after the convention.

In the course of the pre-convention discussion, two minority tendencies have been constituted, and have put forward counter-resolutions, which propose a counter-line to the resolutions of the Political Committee. The elections of delegates will therefore be on the basis of proportional representation.

The April 7 meeting of the Political Committee considered what PC platform would most clearly present the alternative on the key and fundamental questions before us, in the voting to determine proportional representation. In drawing up its platform, it was guided by the need to achieve political clarity on the questions which have emerged as the key issues of the pre-convention discussion. The Political Committee therefore decided by majority vote on a platform composed of the following three documents:

1) World Movement Report, adopted by the September plenum of the Central Committee (Bulletin #11);

2) Political Resolution, adopted by the Political Committee (Bulletin #31);

3) Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism, adopted by the January plenum of the Central Committee (Bulletin #17).

The Women's Liberation and Quebec resolutions will be presented for discussion and adoption by the convention.

The World Movement Report adopted by the January plenum of the CC has yet to be published in the internal bulletin, but will be available prior to the convention.

Comradely,

John Riddell,
for the Political Committee.

April 9, 1973.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST TENDENCY PLATFORM

The Revolutionary Communist Tendency submits the following documents as the content of its political platform:

1) Revolutionary Communist Position on Students, Bulletin #28.
2) Feminism or Scientific Socialism, Which Road..., Bulletin #10.
3) The Character and Statutes of the Fourth International, and Theses on Quebec, contained in Bulletin #3.
4) The Revolutionary Communist Position on Quebec, Young Socialist Bulletin #12.
5) Social Democracy and the LSA, Bulletin #29.
6) The Revolutionary Communist Position on the NDP, contained in Bulletin #26.
7) International Report, yet to be published.
8) Our Liquidation into the Ontario Waffle -- the Lessons to be Learned From It, yet to be published.
9) The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe (Draft Theses submitted to the 10th World Congress), Int. Inf. Bull. November 1972.
10) In Defense of Leninism, In Defense of the Fourth International, by E. Germain, yet to be officially published.
11) Political Resolution (RCT), yet to be published.

The RCT also declares its support for the following documents:

1) Documents of the Unity Discussion with the Red Circle, Bulletin #36, pp 7-40, 46-58.
2) The positions of Offley and Davis contained in the Documents of the Offley-Davis appeal, Bulletin #15.
3) The Roots of Degeneration, Bulletin #29.
4) Documents on the NDP contained in Bulletin #26 (excluding R.C. position on NDP -- a contribution to theoretical discussion).

April 4, 1973.

PLATFORM OF THE UNITED TENDENCY

1) Support of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency and its platform on the tasks confronting the Fourth International.

2) Support of the document A New Stage in Canada-U.S. Relations -the UT's counter resolution to Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism.

Submitted April 9, 1973

(Notes by RD) (Found in April 1973)

Abe — Leader's [illegible] complete revision on Vietnam

on an orientation to Cdn nlsm in anti-war movemt

uses: concept of intervention on sentiment - rather than area where Ntsm is a factor in radicalization

Slogan on leaflet we put out ~~[illegible]~~ an x angle where we got off — we organized + prepared leaflet + teach-in

Support Cdn independence

see page 3 — it was incorrect.

has quote re independence page 3 wrong

X planation weak — Addesson's wrong reaction Mar/72

article ~~[illegible]~~ poses all the comrades - WHAT DOES THIS ~~[illegible]~~ DO FOR MOVEMENT p 5

Even UMC — they have renounced UMC - Break from US War Machine

p 8 — satellite -

p 9 — Richard Thompson - mistake of major proportions

no Sask Cdn people exploited by US imperialists + their junior partners in Canada

p 10 good x pose of leadership. FALSE Argument

p 11 — excellent - revision of our line on Vietnam

withdrawal slow down

p 12 For a Socialist + Indep Canada in a United Socialist States of America

"**Notes for Gord D's presentation"**– on the United Tendency's platform

"April 15/73 to Metro" *(to combined Metro branch Toronto LSA –ed.)*

(Transcribed from handwritten notes by R.D.)
(Editorial and grammatical notes)

The first point on the United Tendency's platform is support of the Lenin-Trotsky Tendency in the Fourth International.

This stands first in our 2 point platform although comrades identify our tendency with urging an orientation of the Canadian Trotskyists to working within the new nationalism which permeates the Canadian left in order to project our Marxist analysis and present our Trotskyist program of democratic and transitional demands in a way which will link to it's essentially anti-capitalist dynamic.

Solidarity with the international L-T tendency is not an incidental aspect of our platform – it is not even a second leg – it is the most important of the 2 planks of our platform. It is more important than the question of an appreciation of an orientation to this new Canadian nationalism, as important as this is if our movement is going to effectively intervene in the radicalization which all 3 tendencies recognize is permeated by it.

This point marks the UT off not only from the course the International pursued particularly in Bolivia and Argentina since the 1969 World Congress – the guerrilla war strategy – which has been disastrous.

It marks us off from the whole method (….) that the Fourth International under the majority leadership has pursued in meeting the problems of building the parties of the FI into effective forces that can become the leadership of the working class in the class struggle.

We are as the L-T tendency declaration spells out in point 4: for resumption by the leading bodies of the FI of the method outlined in the Transitional Program to solve the problems we face in bidding for the leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle, and (in point) 5 for reaffirming the basic programmatic tradition, and practices, of the FI as they stood up to the time of the Third W.C. since Reunification (Ninth WC); that is, specifically, of commitment to the Leninist strategy of building a combat party. The more revolutionary the situation, the more decisive becomes the role of such a party.

The conflicting concepts on the methodological level involve not just the guerrilla orientation as projected on a Latin American continental scale and practised in Argentina & Bolivia but differences on many other important questions – the construction of Marxist youth organizations, the historical balance sheet of entryism *sui generis ("of a special kind," the deep-entry liquidationist type advocated by Pablo in the FI in the 1950s, which our movement fought – ed.), (and our strategic)* policies in the anti-war movement, etc., etc.

These are not matters that concern the Canadian section of the FI in its relations with our co-workers in Britain, France, Germany, etc., but right here in our own section.

We have in our section a group of comrades who have been gravely disoriented by the positions adopted by the Ninth W(orld) C(ongress) and who are in the process of disorienting new forces in Canada particularly in Toronto who see themselves coming to Trotskyism. I am referring to the comrades organized in the RCT *(Revolutionary Communist Tendency –ed.)* The L-T tendency is not only in a struggle against mistaken policies being applied in Latin America but policies that are being advocated within our own section here in Canada and which we are for vigorous combat against.

The RCT has presented the Canadian section and our coming Convention with a 15-document platform. These documents present positions on almost every area of our work – past, present and future. This tendency while it has added new forces to its ranks over the past year, comrades some of whom for some period struggled against policies outlined in some of these documents, has in effect taken nothing away that (was) documented its previous gravely erroneous positions.

The fact that it has dropped its defence of the El Combatiente Sallustre kidnapping and its former complete endorsation of the ERP's Guevarist strategy, which has proven so disastrous, is made up for by its encompassing in its platform "In Defence of Leninism" by E. Germain *(Ernest Mandel –ed.)*

For this convention the RCT has submitted a document as a line *(major policy –ed.)* contribution which strikes out against what we have (always) considered the touchstone of class politics in Canada – the NDP – which has been the fundamental orientation of our movement for some decades.

This document disarmingly entitled "Our Liquidation into the Ontario Waffle" points up the reality of the crises of the FI which the L-T tendency has been organized to rectify and how important for the future of the Canadian section it is that the L-T tendency win in its struggle in the FI and those forces which support it in the Canadian section, and to win out in the struggle against the erroneous line of the RCT.

In our (United Tendency) tendency statement we said we stand on 2 documents: "Our Orientation to the NDP – the strategy and its tactical application," and the document "The NDP and the Waffle" adopted by the 1971 Plenum *(see in Correspondence, 1971 –ed.)*

This point appeared in our declaration when we became aware that Comrade Gandall was preparing a contribution on the NDP and our general line, and we had urged the PC to present a document on this question and allocate time on the agenda for this specific purpose – but to no avail. When we came to present a short statement that could serve as an explanation for the extension of this point from our tendency statement **onto** our platform we realized that the experience had been largely an Ontario one and it would be difficult if not impossible to work this out to the satisfaction of a tendency formed late in the day, without resources, and that was scattered across the continent.

The RCT's line document on the NDP is not entirely without merit. It attempts to deal with our recent experience in the NDP, our role in the Ontario Waffle left-wing during, and after the exit of the Waffle-MISC forces *(Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada, as Waffle became known after its expulsion from the NDP –ed.)* It is to be hoped that it will serve to open up a serious discussion in our ranks particularly with regards to our work in the NDP since it has now been stripped clean of viable left-wing forces – which are now largely concentrated on MISC. But that is only incidental.

This RCT document is fundamentally an attack against our entire NDP orientation. In passing it should be noted that it is a counter-document to the document "Our Orientation to the NDP: the Strategy and its Tactical Application" which was a contribution in Comrade Dowson's name to the last Congress of the International discussion on entrism *sui generis*.

This contribution attacks our fundamental orientation to the NDP, which we have characterized as the touchstone of class politics and which we have for some time had a policy of unconditional support of, and intensive fraction in, with a non-split perspective.

It does so in 2 ways: 1. it attacks some of our recent practises on our NDP orientation – on some instances on correct grounds – but practises which are related to our line only in so far as they have been a false practise of our line; 2. by presenting a completely false picture (….) of the needs, and level of consciousness, of the Canadian working class and the role of the NDP in this process (by ignoring the needs of the broad ranks of the NDP and its supporters, and presenting a false and schematic picture of the level of consciousness of the Canadian working class and the role of the NDP in this process.)

This has led them to conclude that the NDP is just "in the way, plain and simple"*("the NDP is in the way, and on the way" was a common formulation of LSA policy – ed.)* of the LSA as (*the source of building the)* nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard, and to see the NDP a "merely an important work area in the *(working)* class in the current conjuncture."

What underlies this attack on our NDP orientation which is an orientation to the developing politicalization of the Canadian working class is a totally different orientation away from participating (alongside the varied activities of our open LSA/LSO) in the building of a mass left wing in the NDP – to "the most militant angry young militants in the party on the basis of a hard programmatic differentiation between ourselves and the NDP leadership," away from "the concerns" (p. 18), "the conscious orientation to building broad left wings inside the party" to "posing the full program" and "to act as a revolutionary Marxist pole."

The full program which we are to pose inside the NDP is outlined as "positions which left social democrats could not possibly support – such as the necessity of a vanguard party, the impossibility of the parliamentary road to socialism or the impossibility of winning a social-democratic party like the NDP to socialism."

(p. 35 – On angry militants') projects: (p. 22) "We will provoke splits and breakaways inside the NDP only by providing a visible credible revolutionary pole of attraction outside, not by the work of individual militants inside." Line posed here: "a caucus largely composed of revolutionaries."

The actions that we should take in the NDP according to the RCT are clearly to be determined by the "concerns" of the angry militants, "the most militant angry young militants," and it is objectively in the interests of the broadest working masses and what must be done to advance the class struggle nationally and internationally.

(On the contrary), in the spirit of the Transitional Program, we start with the objective needs of the masses. We address ourselves to them and the mass organizations they consider represent them, projecting concrete demands that correspond both to the need and consciousness of the broad masses and that can move the struggle forward and thereby heighten their level of consciousness.

Not the concerns of the angry young militants but the objective needs of the workers flow (into) 2 divergent courses of action. The one advocated by RCT leads to maximalist demands and so-called militant actions like the picket against the NDP brass over their support of the International Commission *(the body in which the Canadian military monitors whitewashed the US effort in the war in Vietnam –ed.)* that presumably reflect the level of consciousness of the angry militants. In reality they are adaptations to its political ignorance and backwardness. The other is firmly based on the method of the Transitional Program which aims at mobilizing the masses in the struggle whatever their level of consciousness and moving them toward socialist revolution.

We still organize the angry young militants in actions that speak to the needs and consciousness of the masses – not the concerns of the militants. To win recruits to the LSA from the angry young militants we must convince them of the correctness of our program for the working masses – the forces that must be mobilized for the success of the revolution.

Thus in this false approach to the workers organized in the NDP that the RCT now presents for adoption of our convention we can see only amplified to a higher plane the false approach they have consistently advanced in the past period in the anti-war movement where they would dump the efforts and the demands designed to mobilize a broad mass support to the Vietnamese cause for demands that address themselves to the concerns of the angry militants.

The United Tendency is for the defence of our NDP orientation which itself is an expression of our Transitional concepts against the false method that underlies their attack on our orientation and many of the other errors of the RCT. I would now like to move onto point 2.

The NDP presents us with some problems. Our Tendency statement said we formed on #3: "We stand on the theory and practice of our movement as regards to the NDP

expressed in the document "Our Orientation to the NDP: the Strategy and its Tactical Application," the document "The NDP and the Waffle" adopted by the 1971 Plenum, and our practice with regards to the NDP and the Waffle up until the summer of 1972."

The common opinion this expressed was: 1) that it was a mistake to have made the nationalism of the Waffle the key and divisive question in our relations with it. These opinions have been grossly misinterpreted by the Majority tendency – particularly around the contribution by Comrade Dowson "Theory is gray, but life is green" *(see this document at April 1973 –ed.)* Despite very clear identification with the 2 key documents, widespread gossip (is) that we are for (a pact) with MISC, for dumping our orientation;

2) that the theory of our movement – outlining our orientation as "the NDP as the focus of our politics – but not necessarily the centre of our activity," "unconditional support of the NDP, intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective," **is correct but there have been serious errors in practice in the recent period,** in our press and in our fraction and its relation to the Left Caucus. Another problem is that much of this has been a **Toronto experience** not shared by the pan-Canadian movement and therefore involved considerable history as well as interpretation – and we are a cross-Canada tendency coming to a pan-Canadian Convention.

A further motivation for that, #3, was our knowledge that our line was under attack by the RCT – we wanted to affirm our defence of that line against the RCT. It was on this basis that Comrade Dowson (and the UT) sought several months ago to have the PC prepare documentation on this and allocate special time in the convention for this – we failed.

At long last this RCT document has appeared – very late, April 10. The Tendency of course has not yet had an opportunity to fully assess this document even here in Toronto – Vancouver has not received it (as has) no other (branch); so there hasn't even been consultation.

That is why we removed this item from our platform. So – where from here….

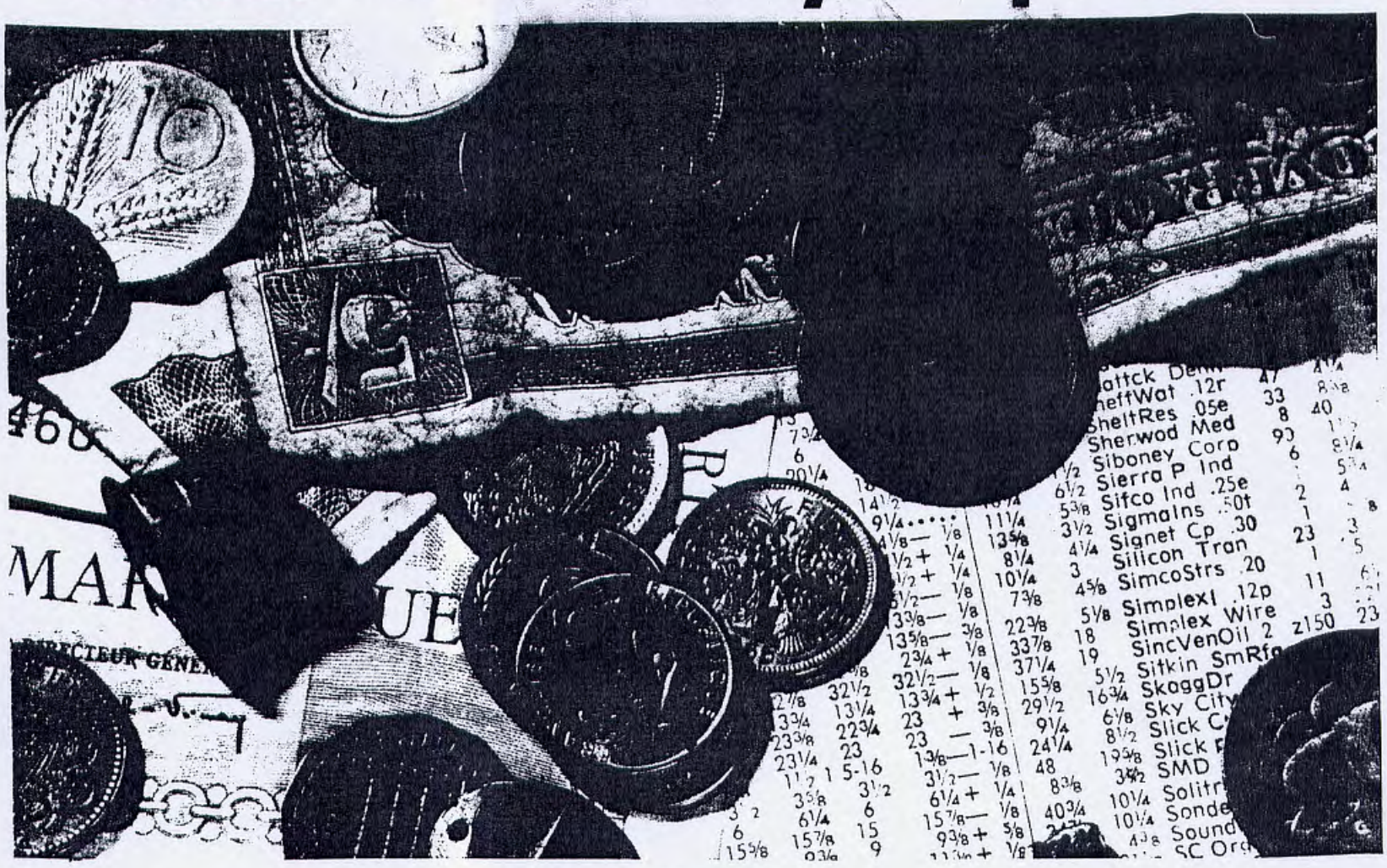
(notes end)

VANGUARD FORUM

discussion & debate on the left

DR ISTVAN MESZAROS

"social accountancy vs profit"



fri april 19

8:00 pm

Dr. Mezaros, Lukac's former assistant, was awarded the 1970 Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize for his boo "Marxist Theory of Alienation". A world-known Marxist scholar, he is currently Professor of Social Science at York University.

334 QUEEN ST WEST

STATEMENT ON OUR PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM
By Ross Dowson, Toronto Local, East Branch.

Note: the following statement was submitted to the January, 1973 Plenum of the Central Committee, for attachment to the Plenum minutes.

The report on the theoretical journal presented by comrade Cappe to our fall plenum as published in Internal Bulletin #12 read; "We must hold off the launching of a theoretical journal at least until substantial moves towards the weekly and bi-weekly have been accomplished."

1. Following the plenum it was agree, since this has become a part of the pre-convention discussion to be resolved by the convention, that no moves would be made to disperse the funds raised for the journal. That would be an organizational act that would settle a political question for some time to come. The matter of the journal therefore remains open for discussion, and then decision at the convention.

2. Comrade Boyd of East Toronto branch made a submission on the press appearing in Bulletin #21.

I support that submission and in particular its stress on th need to proceed with publication of a theoretical journal. Such a journal, addressed to the tasks of the Canadian and world revolution, is necessary to raise the theoretical level of our own forces. It would go a long way to establish the League as promoters and developers of Marxist theory, and thus enhance our influence.

I agree with his contention that a journal places little real demand on the movement in relation to its value. The projection is an issue every three months, composed of three or four articles. The cost per issue would be no more than one issue of our press, and circulation over a three month period would be well within the capacity of our movement. I do not see how a decision on this matter is tied into the matter of our ability, either now or in the future, to go weekly or bi-weekly with our press.

Further postponement of the journal, since we have already become committed and have been given the funds for the purpose, would signify a big step backward in the political development and influence on the movement, and would in someway constitute a breach of responsibility to the movement as a whole which overwhelmingly and enthusiastically responded to our appeal at Waterloo.

I would propose that the convention refer this matter to the leadership that will be elected by this convention, for its immediate action.

REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF CANADIAN LABOR

DISCUSSION SERIES

APRIL 28
LABOR vs. CAPITAL IN CANADA

The development of Canada has been dominated by the financiers and industrialists who form a powerful ruling class. This class owns the railroads, factories and cities that were built by the working class. This exploitation is the basis for the deep divisions in Canadian society and the irreconcilable struggle between these two classes. The introductory class will look at these divisions — where the lines are drawn and how the ruling class acquires its power. It will take up labor's struggle for self-defense through the development of the trade unions and the NDP — the mass organizations to defend and advance labor's interests against those of the ruling class.

MAY 5
THE 1970's: NEW CHALLENGE FOR LABOR

The post-war boom and economic concessions by the bosses favored the consolidation of a labor and NDP leadership that is conservative and bureaucratic. But capitalism is undergoing a growing economic and social crisis resulting in sharper attacks on the labor movement — losses in real wages, cutbacks in social services and anti-labor legislation. These problems stem from the nature of the capitalist system and to solve them requires a revolutionary change in Canadian society. But the pro-capitalist outlook of the labor bureaucracy stands in opposition to this. Lewis in Parliament and the CLC brass are faced with challenges from the influx into the labor movement of women and youth inspired by struggles against capitalist oppression. This class looks at how the bureaucracy developed and why it cannot be reformed.

MAY 12
THE QUEBEC LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY

The revolt of Quebec labor in April-May 1972 marked the highest point in decades of workers' struggles in North America. A spontaneous strike spread across the province; workers occupied radio and TV stations, and even took control of cities. Today, Quebec labor is on the march once more. In April the union federations formed a united front to fight inflation; their chief demand is the cost of living escalator clause. Clearly, in many respects, Quebec labor is in the forefront of the workers' fight across the country. What are the reasons for this militancy? What are the chief problems and challenges before the unions in Quebec? What is the role of nationalism in the labor movement? What can English-Canadian workers learn from the Quebecois?

MAY 19
MEETING THE CHALLENGE — WHAT PROGRAM FOR LABOR?

The present labor leadership has no perspective for fighting back against the rising attacks on the labor movement and its living standards. For that reason, many radicals don't see that the working class will realize its revolutionary potential. But the teacher-demonstration of 30,000 last year shows that worker militancy is increasing. Using such examples as the teachers' struggle against educationccutbacks, this class will show how a program can be formulated to defend the interests of the working class, which can intensify the practical struggle against capitalism. At the same time, this program can link the present fight with the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of Canadian society led by the working class.

MAY 26
THE ROLE OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

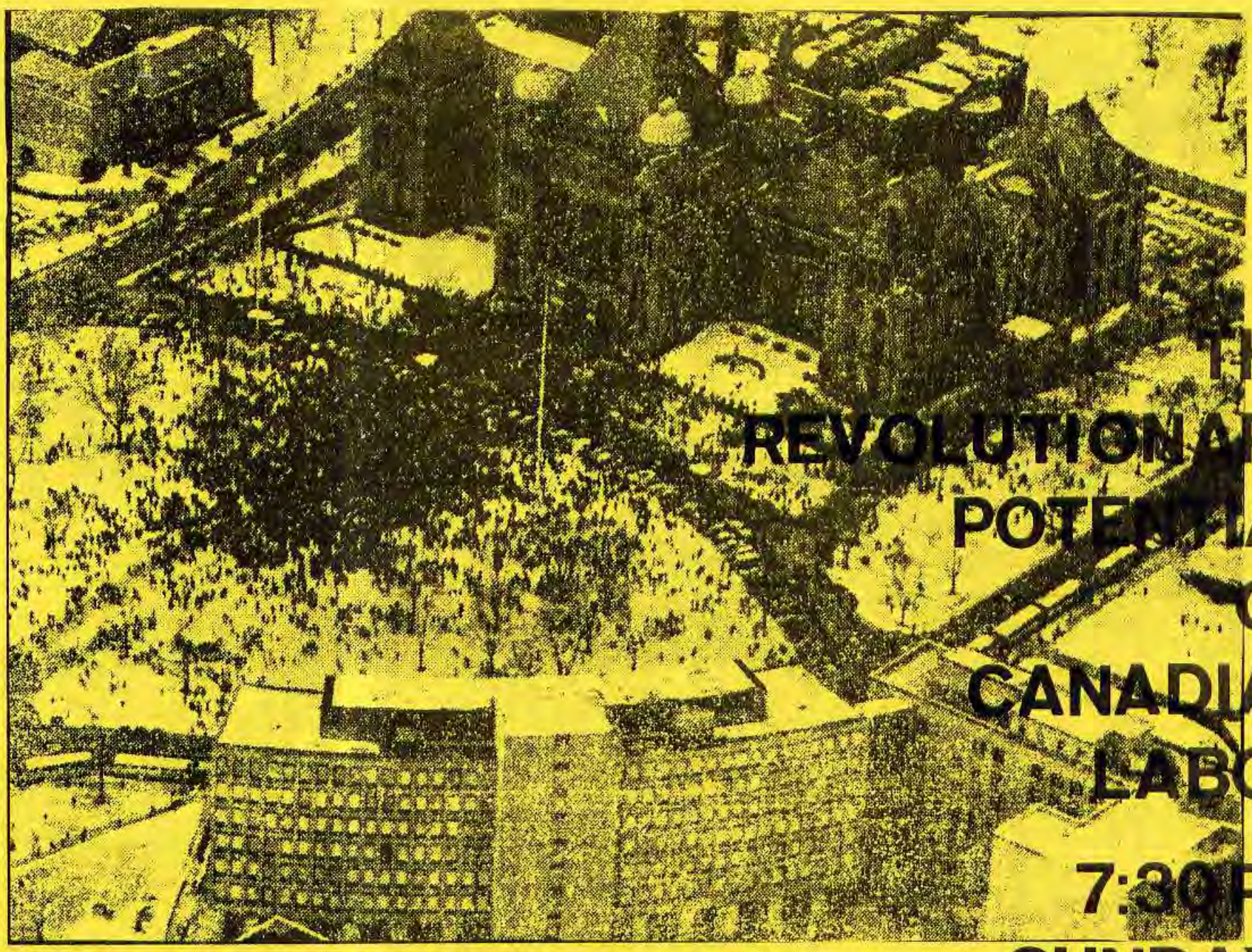
Many people understand that the working class, as Marxists have argued, is the prime agent for revolutionary change in society. But there is a great deal of confusion about how this occurs. Some interpret this to mean that the struggle for socialism will be led and waged by the trade unions, perhaps by revolutionary or "red" unions. In this class, we examine the Marxist view that a revolutionary party is required, with a program of struggle which can lead, not only the trade unions, but all sections of the working class and its allies in battle against the ruling class.

$1.00 per class or $4.00 for the series.

Call 363-9618 or 364-4056 for further information.

READINGS FOR THE CLASSES

AVAILABLE FROM VANGUARD BOOKSTORE 334 Queen St. West, Toronto.



30,000 teachers march on Ontario legislature

THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF CANADIAN LABOR

7:30 PM SUNDAYS

334 QUEEN ST. W.

363-9618

APRIL 28: LABOR vs. CAPITAL IN CANADA
PAM DINEEN — Socialist teacher militant

MAY 5: THE 1970s — NEW CHALLENGES FOR LABOR
LIS ANGUS — Central Committee member, LSA/LSO

MAY 12: THE QUEBEC LABOR MOVEMENT TODAY
ART YOUNG — Organizational secretary, LSA/LSO

MAY 19: MEETING THE CHALLENGE — WHAT PROGRAM FOR LABOR
A socialist viewpoint

MAY 26: THE ROLE OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
DARREL FURLOTTE — Central Committee member, LSA/LSO

SPONSORED BY YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

Author?

ON THE AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL AND ANTIWAR RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH CANADIAN NATIONALISM

I am submitting this contribution directly to the convention for consideration by the delegates. I must apologize for the late date. However, there are reasons for my putting it forward only now.

For one, my direction for some time now has been out of the youth movement and into the League. I shall be graduating at this convention. This has made me somewhat reluctant to get involved at this time in any important issue of dispute in the youth movement. This is all the more true of Canadian nationalism as the discussion on this question has taken place primarily in the League.

A second and more important reason, however, is that the differing views on the question have only recently begun to be presented to the movement in a thorough and rounded way. Until the release of the LSA Political Committee's submission on the question, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism", about one month ago, no clearly worked-out position had been put forward on any levels of the movement. And since that time, only two or three other contributions have been made - a brief initial presentation by comrade Ross Dowson, as well as two others by comrade D.L. Many comrades have yet to read even these documents. Nor was the line of the youth leadership on the question fully articulated and laid down in writing until recently. Only about two weeks ago were the finalized amendments to the original drafts of the political and antiwar resolutions submitted for discussion.

Given this situation, it would have been best for us to have laid aside the issue for further discussion in the first place in order to have the benefits that the discussion only now beginning in the League would offer. However, second revised drafts of both our political and antiwar resolutions have been presented to us, which introduce significant and definitive amendments to the original versions presented earlier this year in Bulletins 1 and 4 respectively. We are now being called upon to adopt these amendments. It is my opinion, however, that they should be rejected and that we should continue discussion on the presentation of Canadian nationalism in the original draft versions.

It would be highly unfortunate and detrimental to the current discussion on this question if the youth movement adopted the amendments prior to full discussion on the question along with the League. I believe the youth comrades may well find themselves convinced of a different point of view later on and find themselves faced with the awkward problem of having to change the movement line again.

* * *

Many comrades are under the illusion that the amendments are merely designed to reassert the traditional line of the movement on Canadian nationalism. This is simply not the case, as I shall show. I shall deal with what the m vement's line on nationalism actually is a little later on.

But to begin with, it is wrong to think that the amendments simply reject any support for "nationalism"; they go far beyond that, rejecting a whole series of concepts which the movement had hitherto adopted and held, both in the League and in the youth.

The alteration of these concepts - or more clearly, their omission in the final drafts - is probably not immediately evident to comrades. One has to perform a little detective work, combined with some subtle surgery, to discover what the real effect of the amendments is. One has to find the altered paragraphs in the final versions of the two resolutions and cut them out; track down those paragraphs in the original text which have been eliminated or altered; and tape in the final versions of the altered paragraphs over the original ones. Then one is prepared to read over and closely compare the two versions. The differences are most striking - and not merely for their rejection of "nationalism".

What are the key concepts and former positions of the movement that have been omitted from the final draft resolution and in effect rejected? Let us briefly outline them:

1. <u>The Domination of Canada and Its Economy by US Capital</u>

Paragraph 4 on page 2 of the <u>original</u> version of the Political Resolution reads: "The profound contradictions of capitalism which have generated the youth radicalization on a world scale are sharply reflected in Canada. The Canadian ruling class, the tiny handful of men who control almost all the wealth of this country, has willingly tied the entire economy to the needs of US imperialism bringing about <u>the domination of all aspects of Canadian life by the US</u>." (emphasis added)

What is there here to do with "Canadian nationalism"?

This paragraph has been replaced by the paragraph on page 5 of the amended version of the Political Resolution beginning: "Far from being the peaceful 'True North Strong and Free' . . ."

In the 2nd paragraph on page 6 of the original Political Resolution, the words, "imperialist domination and war" have been changed to read simply "imperialist war".

Finally, in case there is any further doubt as to the omission of the concept of US domination, there is the sentence in the 3rd paragraph on page 7 of the original Political Resolution which reads: "The revulsion of Canadian youth and the Canadian people with the horrors and ruthlessness of US imperialism and <u>its domination of every aspect of Canadian life</u> were at the roots of the massive spontaneous upsurge against the Amchitka blast." (emphasis added)

In the section of the amended Political Resolution dealing with the same subject, Amchitka, no mention is made of US domination, let alone of its having been the prime factor at the roots of the protest, as stated in the original.

Note that in none of the three amended paragraphs quoted was ther any mention of "Canadian nationalism".

2. Canada as a "Junior Partner" of US Imperialism

In the 2nd paragraph on page 2 of the antiwar resolution, the first sentence has the concept of junior partner of US imperialists changed to simply read "partner of US imperialists".

And again, in paragraph 3 on page 10 of the original antiwar resolution, the following sentence has been deleted: "The war in Vietnam adds a central component to the oppression of the Canadian people and epitomizes our exploitation by the US imperialists and their junior partners in Canada.

Once again, in neither of these two circumstances was there anything to do with "nationalism" as such.

3. The Anti-Imperialist Sentiment as a Key Factor Shaping the Radicalization of Canadian Youth

On page 3 of the original draft of the Political Resolution, the section entitled "The Oppression of Youth" begins with the following statement: "These fundamental contradictions of capitalism and imperialism have created the three factors shaping the radicalization in Canada - the anti-imperialist sentiment, the nationalism in Quebec, and feminism."

This entire section on youth oppression has now been amended. However, the new section, entitled "Origins of the Youth Radicalization", has removed anti-imperialist sentiment as a key radicalizing factor, and talks instead about students and the Vietnam war, in addition to Quebec nationalism and feminism which retain their prominence.

Yet one more time, there is nothing in the original versions here about "nationalism."

4. US Imperialism as Number One Imperialist and Counter-Revolutionary Power

In paragraph 5, on page 1 of the original draft political resolution, the following sentence has been deleted: "US imperialism is being exposed (by Vietnam - WB) as World Public Enemy Number One and the lines are drawn very clearly between genocide and destruction on the one hand and socialist revolution on the other."

Again, what has this deletion to do with "nationalism"?

5. Our Demands to End Americanization

Originally included on page 14 of the first draft of the Political Resolution, this section of our program has been deleted entirely in the second draft. It included demands like: "Break the universities and schools from the US war machine", "Teach the truth about Canadian history", "Student faculty-staff controlled Canadian studies departments", and "Open the resources of the university to struggles in the interests of the Canadian people".

While comrades may disagree with one or another of these demands, that is not the problem. What is dumped here is the issue of Americanization as part of our program. This clearly goes against the line adopted for instance

in the political resolution at our last convention.

Besides the alteration of these specific concepts of our movement, the analyses of the Amchitka upsurge in both the political and antiwar resolutions has been significantly and unjustly altered from that in the original drafts. Again, comrades can really only grasp the changes here by closely comparing the respective versions, paragraph by paragraph.

* * *

The Movement's Line on Canadian Nationalism

Returning to this question, the amendments are alleged to reaffirm the movement line. This is not so. Just as the amendments amount to a rejection of certain other established concepts, so they do likewise on the question of "nationalism" in Canada.

As it now stands, the amended Political Resolution does not simply oppose bourgeois nationalism, but nationalism per se in Canada. This was never the line of either the LSA or the YS as established in their convention resolutions.

The 1968 LSA resolution on Canada-US Relations is reputed to have opposed Canadian nationalism all down the line. But what did it actually say? Here are a few revealing quotations from that document:

"The term (Canadian nationalism) is a misnomer, causing confusion rather than giving insight into this phenomenon, its dynamics and direction. More correctly, it should be designated as a elemental anti-imperialist sentiment - developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness. It is by its being essentially anti-imperialist that it finds no basis of support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen, who defend US imperialism, not only out of a natural affinity, but with a clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the U.S. ruling class." (page 8, emphasis added)

"This anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment is an important fact of Canadian political and social life. To accept or pin the label nationalist on it is to not only incorrectly designate it. It leads to a dismissal, if not an opposition to it. On the contrary we must recognize it for its essentially radical character and develop it." (page 10)

"Nationalism in advanced capitalist countries such as Canada has traditionally been a tool of the ruling class. In 1939 the banner of national unity was raised in order to gear the nation, specifically the working class, to sacrifice their lives in an imperialist world war. It is now being raised to mobilize English speaking Canada against the legitimiate struggle of the Quebecois for their national rights. This bourgeois nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society - in particular the development of class consciousness amongst the workers, and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them.

"What in common with this, has the phenomenon which we can see developing across the country over the question of Canada-US relations?

"Far from promoting this "nationalism" the Canadian ruling class their parties and their spokesmen, stand firmly united against it . . ." (emphasis added, page 9)

"This brand of "nationalism" far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes <u>against</u> the bourgeoisie. It is discrediting the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie as not representing any interest that could be said to be Canadian, as being in essence agents of another power, a foreign power, U.S. imperialism, whose role is increasingly becoming more clear and more hated and more feared." (page 9)

As this series of quotations indicates, the 1968 LSA resolution on Canada-US Relations did not oppose the then developing "nationalist" sentiment in this country. In fact, it clearly supported its progressive character and radical thrust. The problem, so far as the document was concerned, was a terminological one: it rejected the label "nationalist", not because this was a pro-bourgeois sentiment fostered by the Canadian capitalist class, but because it felt the term led to confusion than clarity. As an alternative designation, it posposed calling this sentiment "anti-imperialist" or alternatively "anti-US imperialist".*

The amendments presently before us are not merely posed in the interests of terminological accuracy in describing this "anti-US imperialist" sentiment; they in fact amount to a rejection of the sentiment itself.

This is clearly an alteration and rejection of our previousl held point of view. We must reassert our appraisal of the fundamentally radical character of the "anti-imperialist" and <u>so-called</u> "nationalist" sentiment in Canada, by rejecting the amendments.

Comrades may nevertheless wonder about the fact that the original draft political and antiwar resolutions actually accepted and adopted the "nationalist" designation. This is true. And to that extent, this represents something different. However, that is <u>all</u> it represents. Contrast this to the new, amended versions which <u>throw out</u> previously established positions and alter the entire <u>thrust</u> and <u>intent</u> of our line to date.

The best way to proceed would be to continue discussion on the original draft political and antiwar resolutions on this question, within the framework of continued support for and intervention around the anti-US imperialist sentiment. That would be the approach truly consistent with our traditional position.

* * *

With that understanding, I therefore propose the rejection of the following amendments to the political and antiwar resolutions for further consideration and discussion by the movement as a whole:

Antiwar Resolution: all the amendments as outlined in Bulletin 11
Political Resolution: (the original draft, Bulletin 1):

* This position of <u>support</u> to the growing anti-imperialist" sentiment in Canada, while rejecting the designation "nationalist" became an important part of the life and overall program of our entire movement, including the YS/LJS. In fact, the youth movement adopted it as its own.

page 1, paragraph 5 - the deletion of the final sentence.

page 2, paragraph 4 - its substitution with paragraph 6 on page 3 in Bulletin 11.

page 3, paragraph 1 - its alteration along the lines of the 2nd paragraph on page 4 in Bulletin 11.

page 6, paragraph 2 - the alteration of "imperialist domination and war" to "imperialist war"

and - the deletion of the clause "and it cannot win independence from the U.S."

page 7, paragraphs 2 and 3 - their substitution with paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 on page 8 and paragrphs 1 on page 9 in Bulletin 11.

page 14 - the deletion of the program section "End Americanization".

AGAINST OUR NORTH AMERICAN BOURGEOISIE AND ITS CANADIAN STATE
by J. Jennings, Toronto Local, East Branch

Any resolution of our debate on the nature of Canada/U.S. relations must provide us with a clear picture of our main political focus and first enemy, the Canadian state. It is in the day-to-day battles with this primary bastion of capitalism that the party is built, the revolutionary forces welded together, and the woolly headed academics are tested and discarded. Our stage and area of the world revolution, our responsibility and contribution, is in the decisive and final defeat of 'the body of armed men' that perpetuate capitalism in Canada.

The thing that gives bolshevism its fantastic revolutionary potential is our insistence on constantly testing both our cadre and our theory in day-to-day struggle with the Canadian state. It is our target and our inspiration. Theories that blunt this primary thrust of the class struggle are useless to our tasks. Formulations that deflect our attack off into the wide blue yonder will comfort sectarian propagandists and academic liberals, but they get short shrift from us. 'On to Saigon' and 'World Peace' are not tools for our purpose.

It is in this context that we must approach the debate on Canadian nationalism. Are there national aspirations of our working class that will bring them into direct conflict with this Canadian state? In the case of the Quebecois the answer is immediate and obvious. They are a doubly oppressed sector of the Canadian working class and their national aspirations combined with their proletarian homogeneity drive them into direct colision with the state. (It is at least schematic to term Quebec an internal <u>colony</u>. The national question <u>does</u> exist in advanced capitalist countries. The world revolution proceeds against the capitalist nation state from without, in the colonial world, and from within as the sectors of the proletariat struggle against their oppression.)

What of the Anglo-Canadian working class? What national aspirations do they have which will drive them against the state? What is the source of the national sentiment phenomenon that led us to leave an open end in the 1968 document?

The PC document proceeds correctly by starting the analysis in the framework of the crisis of world imperialism. But the emphasis is incorrect. The concrete truth is a more useful tool when formulated as an amalgam of its contradictory and interacting parts.

The last decade has been one of sharpening internal rivalry for world imperialism as various sectors of the capitalist class compete for the diminishing plunder. But the advance of the world revolution has sharply limited how far these conflicts can go. In this last epoch of capitalism all the contradictions of the profit motive are exacerbated. Hitherto 'warring' nations were driven into financial blocs and the multi-national corporations have grown until their financial reserves are more than twice the combined reserves of the

world banks. There is a misdirecting concentration on the internal squabbles in the edifice of international finance capital without an adequate compensating attention to how loudly the revolution is knocking at the door.

One leading comrade polemicized on the question at an East Branch debate with the statement that it is of little moment which capitalists own the means of production in Canada, our struggle is with the Canadian capitalist State. But since that state rules in the interest of the capitalist owners some knowledge of their needs will forearm us in our fight.

The weakness of the PC document is that it comes to Canada/U.S. relations from an overemphasis on inter-imperialist rivalry, then makes an elision to an assumption that the owners of Canada have divergent interests of some scope from their fellows that reside on other parts of the continent (and the Bahamas). Projecting from this, Nationalism (Patriotism, Chauvinism) is the last refuge of these scoundrels, and the growing resistance to the capitalist plunder of our resource reserves is a plot by the Canadian bosses against the U.S. bosses -- an extension of their conflict of interest.

Other comrades have documented the interpenetration of U.S. and Canadian capital. In North America we have two capitalist Nation States and one basically united capitalist class. This does not exclude internal conflicts in that class -- some of which may even take on the momentary character of inter-state disputes. But it is clear that the Canadian state is committed, irreversibly, to preserve the North American capitalist investment in the Canadian region.

What we have been experiencing, comrades, is a growing disillusionment with capitalist exploitation. It has taken the form of resistance to the larger U.S. corporations. It has an anti-American and false 'nationalist' thrust. Our task is to expose the Canadian state's complicity. We must free this rising class consciousness from its swaddling rags of nationalist illusion.

The PC resolution does not lay the groundwork to do this in a sensitive, flexible and bold way. It tends to preclude not only 'Americans Go Home' (quite rightly) but also 'Nationalize the American Oil Interests.' The second demand has an obvious transitional character. There can be no capitalists or capitalist politicians flocking to that banner.

Underlying our debate is some very real apprehension about how our fundamental analysis will be projected. How much do our formulations lend themselves to over simplistic projection into the arena of day-to-day work? Too often have we wavered over the line of unconditional defense of some aspect of the class struggle, into the ground of uncritical support. The PC document is correct in arming us against the dangers of contributing in any way to backward chauvinist illusions but it disarms us in the task of dealing with MISC and the many other manifestations this rising anti-capitalist

consciousness will produce. It thus provides a premise for the misconception that Red Circle was the culmination of the radicalization in the NDP. An interesting radical byproduct is allowed to be elevated to a stature way beyond its proportion.

In our formulations we often become prisoners of over simple categorical statements. Comrades, "We are the best feminists" is not the same as saying we are the real women's liberationists. "We are the best Quebec Nationalists" is not the same as being the real Quebecois liberationists. It is inconceivable to even entertain for an instant that we could ever fall into the description of ourselves as the best Canadian nationalists. But some fear of this methodology underlies this debate. Beware! "We are the best internationalists" can be misleading too. It has blinded many fine revolutionists to the dynamic of the permanent revolution.

We are the nucleus of the revolutionary party in Canada. History pits us against the Canadian capitalist state. There is little impulsion for the North American ruling class to abandon this state even though its 'Nation' character has been eroded by the coming together of their interests. It still has many uses as does the national illusion. We must bitterly oppose and expose any attempts to call on backward 'patriotic' reflexes in the Anglo section of the class against the Quebecois, for instance.

But the struggle is clearly leading in the direction of exposing the Canadian state as working for the North American bourgeoisie. The direction is that anti-Americanism will transcend itself in anti-capitalist struggle. We must be armed to participate in that process.

* * * *

Just a note on the tone of the debate itself. It has been basically restrained but there is perhaps some premature hardening of positions and some loose use of terms like revisionist.

It is revisionism to change a previous understanding on the basis of new qualifying knowledge. Those that said that Lenin was wrong because "bolshevism leads to Stalinism" were revisionist. And because they were wrong, most of them revised their ideas until they stood outside even the most general use of the label 'Revolutionist'.

And - revising per se is no sin. All the leading contributors to the Marxist heritage have revised their understanding at one stage or another and reevaluated previous positions.

BUT - the application of Marxist analysis to new stages of historical development will rarely duplicate the exact conclusions of the past. New contributions are enrichments not revisions. In this discussion the term revisionist tends to expose the user as a doctrinaire formalist.

= As lines harden in debates communication lessens. A quote from G.K. Chesterton might provide a worthwhile pause for reflection. It is from his essay "Orthodoxy"....

"If you argue with a madman it is extremely probable that you will get the worst of it, for in many ways his mind moves all' the quicker for not being delayed by the things that go with good judgement. He is not hampered by a sense of humour or by charity, or by the dumb certainties of experience. He is the more logical for losing certain sane affections. Indeed the common phrase for insanity is a misleading one. The madman is not the one who has lost his reason. The madman is the one who has lost everything except his reason."

Certainly, our whole party will profit if we don't lose our "sense of humour", our "charity" and our awareness of the "dunb certainties of experience".

Library and Archives Canada
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, ON K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa, ON K1A 0N4

For material still subject to legislative, contractual or institutional obligations, users warrant that they will respect those obligations and not use LAC collections in a manner that would infringe the rights of others. Liability that may arise in the use of a copy is assumed in full by the user. LAC accepts no responsibility for unauthorized use of collection material by users.

To ensure proper citation and to facilitate relocation of an item, the source of the material and its reference number should always accompany the copy.

Pour les documents faisant encore l'objet d'obligations législatives, contractuelles ou institutionnelles, les usagers s'engagent à respecter ces obligations et à ne pas utiliser les documents des collections de BAC de façon à nuire aux droits d'autrui. Ils doivent assumer entièrement toute responsabilité qui pourrait découler de l'utilisation d'une reproduction de document. BAC décline toute responsabilité quant à l'utilisation non autorisée de documents provenant de ses collections.

Afin de citer un document avec exactitude et d'en faciliter le repérage, sa source et son numéro de référence doivent toujours accompagner la reproduction.

TITLE/TITRE A1-1972-73 DB 13; Amendments to PC
RG _____ MG _____ R- 10995 SERIES/SÉRIE _____
ACCESSION _____ VOL 3 PAGE(S) 10
BOX/BOÎTE _____ REEL/BOBINE _____
FILE/DOSSIER 3-20; A1-1972-73
DATE January 2015

LEFT CAUCUS MEETING, LUNCH-TIME SATURDAY, PLACE TO BE ANNOUNCED

LEFT CAUCUS STATEMENT

"I've always had good ftiends among the NDP members" said one of the governments new ministers, "but now there are times when I almost have to remind myself that we don't belong to the same party."

Toronto Star, Febraury 24, 1973

When the Toronto Star printed the article from which this quote was taken, there wer no righteous denials from the federal caucus in Ottawa - no protests against the alleged collaboration between the research staffs, no outcry against the increasing collaboration between Liberal and NDP members of Parliameent.. Let's be clear about what this cozy relationship between the federal caucus and the minority government really means: a complete sellout of socialist principles and a denial of class politics.

David Lewis has praised the budget and rallied unanimous caucus support behind it, after a heart to heart "chat" with Liberal finance minister John Turner. Even the half-baked measures Lewis promised in the "Corporate Welfare Bums" campaign have been conveniently swept under the rug. The Financial Post, quoting businessman after businessman, made it perfectly clear that Canada's capitalist class thought this budget was just dandy too. We have to ask: How can a budget that is so good for the capitalists be good for the workers when the interests of these two classes are fundamentally opposed?

Three recent provincial conventions have overwhelmingly passed resolutions opposing Canadian intervention in Vietnam. What does the federal caucus do? While Sharp accedes to the American request for Canadian troops with at least a facade of caution, Andrew Brewin, flaunting the mandate of the NDP membership, enthusiastically becomes chief salesman for "neutrality and social peace". These are bankrupt concepts in a situation where the Vietnamese people are fighting against American imperialist aggression, for self-determination and socialism. Canadian troops - "peacekeeping" or "observer" - have always served the interests of American Imperialism (Korea, Congo, Suez, etc.) and will continue this role.

Should the party vote against troops to Vietnam? YES. Should the party vote against the throne speech and the Budget? YES. The party leadership laments that such actions would bring on another election which would cost the party ten seats. The logic of their strategy, then, is compromise after compromise to hold the seats that have already been won. What use are thirty, or even fifty, seats in parliament if they prop up the Liberal party and serve the interests of the ruling class? The party membership must come to terms with the parliamentarist illusions of its leadership. The working class is increasingly under attack. We see this everywhere, in anti-labour legislation, professional strike-breaking companies, unemployment and inflation, the ever more real possibility of wage controls. What has been the response of the federal caucus? Support for a pro-capitalist budget. No firm stand against wage controls. Voting for back to work legislation. Condeming the militancy of the Quebec labour upsurge last spring. Telling workers to wait for the elction of an NDP gevernement to solve their problems. Why these responses? To maintain their credibility with "the voters as a whole". Socialism will never be handed down from parliament. Only the self-organization and militant action of the working class will achieve it. When votes have become more important than the interests of the working class, this party is in serious trouble.

STOP THE LEADERSHIP SELLOUT! -No Canadian troops to Vietnam
-A Militant Fight-back Against the Attack on Labour

IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL CANADIAN PERSONNEL FROM VIETNAM

No real peace has been achieved in Vietnam. In the face of this fact the NDP leadership has now retreated from its enthusiastic support of Canadian participation of so-called "neutral peace-keeping" troops. Under the enormous weight of the events surrounding Canada's role on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) the federal caucus has shifted its position. They are now calling for Canada to give 90 days notice and withdraw its observer contingent from Vietnam.

Doug Rowland, NDP defence critic who went on a fact-finding mission to Indochina, stated: "Information I was able to gather during my visit to Vietnam last week has convinced me that the prospects for peace are minimal and that the prospects for the ICCS in Vietnam carrying out its duties under the Paris agreement are virtually non-existant." This begs the question why then did the NDP leadership support sending Canadian troops in the first place?

For a long time the leadership of the party has obscured both the nature of the war in Indochina and Canada's role as official apologist and diplomatic cover for the U.S. This has led to its emphasis on a "neutral peace-keeping" role for Canada. In fact, Canada's "peace-keepers" have never been neutral.

Older party members may be forgiven if they shrug cynically, saying they have seen it all before. The party leadership, then the CCF, once before hastily lent its seal of approval to Canada's participation on the International Control Commission (ICC) which was set up in 1956 to administer the Geneva accords ending the first round of fighting between the Vietnamese and Western Imperialism. But it had to withdraw its supportin equal haste when the role of Canadian observers became too blatant. While uncritically accepting the U.S. view of the war, they act to conceal flagrant American violations of the accords and as informants for U.S. intelligene agencies.

However, by 1967 when the character of the war had become clear to all but the most ardent American apologists, then party leader Tommy Douglas reversed the party's traditional view by describing it accurately as a civil war in South Vietnam from which the U.S. should withdraw unconditionally.

Now history has repeated itself, this time as a farce. Once more, Canada has been conscripted by the U.S. to act as its watchdog on the ICCS. The party leadership, led by foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin, has again uncritically hailed Canadian involvement in a peace-keeping role. Brewin's boisterous concern for the "good name" of the U.S. (especially in its imperialist war in Vietnam) is not a concern shared by many NDPers.

Clearly, the more the party leaders learn, the more they seem to forget. But not the rank and file members of this party. At the B.C. convention last fall and at the Ontario convention in December, the delegates voted overwhelmingly against Canada's participation on the ICCS. More facts the majotiry of the federal caucus have conveniently forgotten.

Why this opposition from the rank and file? Because as socialists many party members have a different view of what's going on. We realize that the intent of the U.S. is to stifle a popular socialist revolution in South Vietnam and prop up the corrupt and reactionary Thieu military regime.

What is at stake in Vietnam is the right of the Vietnamese not only for national independence, but also for the right of the workers and peasants to finally settle accounts with their direct oppressors-- and to advance towards the establishment of a socialist republic.

The Canadian government's current participation on the ICCS must be seen in this overall context. Not only is Canada serving as a chief diplomatic cover and military supplier for the American effortto defeat the Vietnamese. But, together with representatives of the Indonesian military government on the ICCS, Canada's role is to ensure that American and Saigon interests are protected and

where possible extended against those of North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

One of the ways it is already doing this is by opposing the ICCS delegates from Poland and Hungary and blaming them for the ICCS's problems. Canadian personnel are well trained for these tasks. The head of the contingent, Michel Gauvin, comes well equipped to serve the counter-revolution in Vietnam. In 1965, as a Canadian diplomat aiding the U.S. intervention against the uprising of workers and students in the Dominican Republic, he met Ellsworth Bunker who is now the American Ambassador to Saigon.

Thus Canada has conveniently neglected to investigate the conditions and demand the release of some 200,000 political prisoners in Thieu's prisons; one of the outstanding issues in Vietnam today. Nor did the Canadian delegation challenge the Saigon government's refusal to allow the Red Cross to investigate the jails. In addition, the Canadian contingent has failed to report that the U.S. is already evading its committment to dismantle all military bases within 60 days of signing the peace agreement. This is not being done under the pretense that the bases were handed over to the Saigon regime before the agreements were signed.

Of course, Mitchell Sharpe was quick to point out that the North Vietnamesewere violating the accords when they continued to move supplies down the Ho Chi Minh trail. But it should be pointed out also that the Noth Vietnamese displayed a casual indifference to Canada remaining on the ICCS-- a reversal of their previous position when they responded to Sharpe's probings in Hanoi. However, North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong also stated that there can be no peace in Vietnam until Vietnam is re-united.

If the party leadership had the perspective of supporting the socialist aspirations of the Vietnamese people, instead of mediating irreconcilable class and social tensions-- they would have never supported a peace-keeping role for Canada in the first place.

As socialists we must oppose the current Canadian role in Vietnam. We can express our solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people by demanding:

1. THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL CANADIAN PERSONNEL FROM VIETNAM AND THE ICCS, and call for
2. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS HELD BY THE THIEU REGIME.

--The Left Caucus

Map campaign for women's right to abortion

By KATE ALDERDICE

TORONTO — Two hundred and fifty women, meeting here March 16-18 in the second cross-Canada conference for a woman's right to abortion, projected a program of activities focussing on a fall Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception and Sterilization, to indict the federal government for the humiliation, pain, mutilation and even death that women face because of the unavailability of safe, legal abortion.

The conference, sponsored by the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, also projected a campaign demanding that all charges against Dr. Henry Morgentaler be dropped. Dr. Morgentaler is a Montreal physician before the courts on three charges of performing and "conspiring" to perform illegal abortions.

The conference clearly showed that the campaign to repeal the abortion laws in Canada has reached a new stage. The abortion issue has acquired a strategic importance both to women fighting for their liberation, and also to all the forces of church and state arrayed against them. →2

labor Challenge

#76 Apr 2 1973 v6/4 M6

Ottawa extends 'peacekeeping' farce while Saigon escalates repression

TORTURED IN THIEU'S JAILS. These political prisoners, imprisoned in notorious Con Son "tiger cages," are crippled, some blind, after years of torture.

by THE EDITORS

MARCH 27 — Without even a parliamentary debate and vote, the Liberal government has committed Canada to another term of complicity in the long and bloody Southeast Asian war. External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp announced in Ottawa today that Canadian forces will remain in Vietnam for at least 90 more days, as a member of the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS).

Sharp cited requests from the U.S., Britain, Japan and "some NATO partners," as making "convincing arguments" that Canada should remain "to provide an international presence as an indication of the continued involvement of the world community in the Vietnam situation." In plainer terms, Canada will remain in Vietnam in order to help shore up the repressive Thieu regime and to turn world public opinion against the liberation forces. Canada will continue to violate the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own future.

U.S. TROOPS LEAVE

In Vietnam, a total of 5,324 U.S. combat troops are boarding aircraft today and tomorrow to leave Vietnam, leaving behind some 825 soldiers serving on the Joint Military Commission, 159 to guard embassy buildings in Saigon, and an unstated number of intelligence agents and civilian "advisers" to the Thieu regime.

The threat of renewed direct U.S. aggression in South Vietnam has not been removed with the departure of the troops. Some 45,000 U.S. soldiers and airmen, along with 500 fighter bombers and B-52s are stationed in Thailand. The fleet remains off the coast of Vietnam. U.S. bombers are continuing to pound territories controlled by the liberation forces in Cambodia.

BUT THREAT REMAINS

Nixon made the threat more explicit at a March 15 news conference. Citing U.S. intelligence reports of alleged movements of North Vietnamese troops and weapons toward South Vietnam, Nixon offered this cynical commentary: "We have informed the North Vietnamese of our concern about this infiltration . . . Our concern has also been expressed to other interested parties, and I would only suggest that, based on my actions over the last four years, the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern when they are made."

Nixon's actions over the past four years have included the invasion of Cambodia, the invasion of Laos, the carpet bombing of North Vietnam, including attacks on the vital dike and irrigation systems, the mining of the North Vietnamese harbors, crop poisoning and defoliation, the "craterization" of wide areas of South Vietnam, and countless other crimes against the Indochinese. At least in respect to war threats, Nixon is a man of his word.

see page 2

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

p. 2

This development results from the growing feminist radicalization in general, as well as from the impact of the organized abortion law repeal movement.

For more than three years, women across Canada have united around the concept of action to repeal the abortion laws, and in the course of building this movement, they have shown how women can fight for their own demands. The demonstrations, rallies and meetings, the petition campaigns, the daily work of organizing women in opposition to the government's reactionary laws, have given women an example of how to struggle for their rights.

The impact of this campaign was reflected at the conference, which was endorsed and attended by a wide range of organizations and individuals.

The delegates came from areas as far apart as Vancouver Island and St. John's, Nfld. They represented 40 different organizations, from the United Church, to the New Democratic Party, and from the High School Women's Birth Control Rights Committee to chapters of the Canadian Women's Coalition from across the country. The youngest woman was 11, the oldest, 79. Many were new to the campaign for abortion law repeal. They were women eager to fight against their oppression, who see the right to abortion as an important part of that struggle. see page 6

Women plan tribunal to judge abortion foes

continued from page 1

While support for repeal of the laws is growing, however the opposition is also mobilizing its forces. The attack by Ontario's Health minister Potter (see accompanying article) was not an isolated incident, but part of a general onslaught. On March 3, federal Justice Minister Otto Lang announced he is launching an investigation of hospital abortion committees to determine if they are "rubber-stamping" applications for abortions. Meanwhile, the Quebec government is proceeding with its prosecution of Dr. Morgentaler, and the right-wing anti-abortion groups, often allied with the Catholic Church, are organizing their forces. The day before the conference opened, a new anti-abortion group called "Coalition for Life" was founded in Toronto.

The conference responded to the challenge of the anti-abortion forces by mapping out a campaign of summer and fall activities. The major project set by the conference is the cross-Canada Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception and Sterilization, to take place in Ottawa on Nov. 3. The purpose of the Tribunal will be to expose the real situation under the so-called "liberalized laws," and document the sufferings of thousands upon thousands of Canadian women who are treated as criminals for wanting the right to control their own bodies.

Testimony will be sought from women who have been victims of Trudeau's reactionary laws, as well as from doctors, lawyers, and other professional people.

The Coalition will ask women who have had illegal abortions to make public declarations of their experiences. A similar campaign was recently carried in France, where prominent women signed a statement declaring that they had had illegal abortions, and defying the government to prosecute them. This campaign was proposed at the conference by author Isobel LeBourdais, who declared that she had had two illegal abortions.

The conference also projected a petition campaign calling for the dropping of all charges against Dr. Morgentaler.

JOAN CAMPANA, a coordinator of women's coalition for abortion law repeal

From beginning to end, the conference was imbued with the spirit

→p 3

labor Challenge #76

p-3

of militant feminists fighting for their liberation.

A proposal put forward on behalf of the Hamilton Association for the Repeal of Canada's Abortion Laws, to open up the Canadian Women's Coalition to men, received scarcely any support. The gathering reaffirmed women's basic right to organize together and make their own decisions about how to struggle for their right to abortion.

The conference adopted as the basic theme of the campaign, "Abortion, a woman's right to choose," rejecting any suggestion that priests, politicians or doctors have any right to decide for a woman whether or not to terminate a pregnancy.

The basic structure and strategy of the Canadian Women's Coalition, involving many different organizations, and individual women around the one demand for repeal of the abortion laws, was discussed and reaffirmed.

This concept of the coalition was attacked by a small group of women, led by Bobbi Sparks, from Kingston, Ont. Their statement accused the Coalition of representing ". . . male-dominated interests of church, professional and middle classes . . . it has been manipulated and used by political factions, egotists, professionals, bureaucrats, and governments. It has prolonged debate and divided us."

This statement was overwhelmingly rejected by the women present. Brenda Dineen from the Manitoba Abortion Action Coalition pointed out in a workshop discussion, that ". . . far from dividing us, the Coalition is the thing that's been able to unite us. Women from different backgrounds and organizations can unite to fight for specific demands — like repeal of the laws — and this campaign shows us how. It enables all kinds of diverse organizations, and individual women to come together around the one thing on which they agree. That gives us the united strength we need to take on the government."

Later the conference rejected a proposal to add demands to the Coalition's policy statement other than those directly related to abortion, on the grounds that this could only cut into the broad support the Coalition was able to mobilize on the one issue of abortion law repeal.

The conference clearly showed the strength and dynamism of the campaign across the country. This was reflected in the workshop discussions dealing with fund-raising, publicity and education, and all the other aspects of building the campaign.

SOLIDARITY. Members of Front pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement [Common Front for Abortion Laws] demonstrated outside Montreal courthouse May 1 to protest reopening of trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler on charges of performing abortions and "conspiracy" to perform them.

The largest and liveliest workshop was on Abortion and Women's Liberation, dealing with questions such as why the campaign for abortion has emerged as the central organizing focus for women, and why feminists should build and lead this campaign.

For the first time at such a gathering, gay women met in a workshop to discuss their relationship to the abortion law repeal movement.

LORNA GRANT, a coordinator of women's coalition for abortion law repeal.

Many women from the New Democratic Party attended the conference, and met throughout to discuss how the NDP can be brought more actively into the struggle for women's right to abortion. The federal NDP program calls for repeal of the laws, and many New Democrats, including the federal caucus and the British Columbia provincial caucus, endorsed the conference.

But the NDP leadership has failed to actively involve the party in the campaign to repeal the laws. In the three provinces where the NDP forms the government, women have pressed the party to carry out its program by establishing abortion clinics, and by making sure that hospital boards which are under provincial government jurisdiction, automatically approve all requests for abortion. One of the problems discussed by NDP women at the conference was how to organize other women within the party to force the leadership to meet these demands.

Following the Saturday evening plenary session, women from Saskatoon put on a production of the feminist play, "The Independent Female, or A Man Has His Pride," and Rita MacNeil sang some of the feminist songs she has written.

The final session of the conference on Sunday discussed how to implement the various projects in cities across the country. It also heard greeting from Barbara Muttnick, representing the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the United States, and sent telegrams of support to Dr. Morgentaler, Dr. Will Peers in Belgium, and a message of congratulations to WONAAC in recognition of the Supreme Court decision granting women's right to abortion.

The conference closed with the election of four cross-Canada coordinators for the Canadian Women's Coalition — Joan Campana, Lorna Grant, Eleanor Wright Pelrine, and Valerie Marsh, specially designated as the High School Coordinator of the Coalition.

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

Perform illegal abortions, Morgentaler states at rally

by LIS ANGUS

TORONTO — A spirited rally here March 16, attended by 450 people, set the tone for the cross-Canada abortion conference this weekend. This was the largest public rally for women's right to abortion ever to take place in Canada, and reflected the increasing breadth of support for the campaign. It was a powerful challenge to the federal government, demanding that it repeal Canada's anti-abortion laws now.

Speakers at the rally included: Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women; Elizabeth Loweth of the United Church; Patrice Merrin, executive secretary of Toronto Planned Parenthood; Toronto Alderwoman Dorothy Thomas; Laurel McDowell from the Ontario NDP; Jacquie Henderson, former Toronto mayoralty candidate for the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists; Aline Gregory of Women for Political Action; Illona Laney, speaking for the Toronto Women's Place; Joan Campana of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws; and Dr. Barbara Roberts, a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States.

Greetings were read to the conference from CHOISIR, a French abortion rights group; a U.S. committee supporting Dr. Willy Peers, a Belgian doctor facing charges under the anti-abortion laws in that country; the Vancouver and District Labor Council; NDP MP Grace MacInnis and the New Zealand Women's Abortion Action Committee.

A highlight of the rally was a statement by Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who faces three charges in Montreal under the anti-abortion laws. Morgentaler declared, in part:

"I wish to make public that I have been doing abortions in my clinic in Montreal for the past few years and that I am proud of having helped a few thousand women obtain safe medical operations.

"I am convinced that hy doing so I have saved many from death and many other from injury, disease and tremendous anguish . . .

"I claim that my duty as a doctor is to assist women with unwanted pregnancies who ask for an abortion, to provide them with the best medical care available so that they are not exposed to the dangers of self-induced or incompetent operations done by quacks without medical knowledge.

"I claim that my moral obligation and duty to my patients to save their lives and health transcends the dead letter of a law based on religious superstition and false premises, a law which is widely disregarded by most Canadians as obsolete and unjust, and which has just been declared an unwarranted invasion of privacy by no less an authority than the Supreme Court of the United States . . .

"I do not believe that doing medically safe abortions is a criminal act. On the contrary, I feel very strongly that denying women safe abortions and exposing them to death and injury is criminal.

"I am firmly convinced that all those who oppose the liberalization of the Canadian abortion laws and those who have the power to act to change these laws yet do not do so, have a moral and perhaps more than a moral responsibility for the deaths and injuries of women who died and continue to die and be injured as a result of self-inflicted or botched incompetent abortions, because they were denied access to safe medical procedures by the law . . ."

Several doctors and women in the audience spontaneously took the floor to publicly state they too were "guilty." Eleanor Wright Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada and co-chairwoman of the rally, declared that she was also complicit in Dr. Morgentaler's "crime." These moving testimonies were met with standing ovations from the audience.

Throughout the rally, a feeling of excitement and unity of purpose mounted; the testimonies in support of Dr. Morgentaler indicated the powerful potential for the fall tribunal on abortion, projected as the next major action of the abortion repeal campaign.

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

LSA spokeswoman

Socialists express solidarity

The following are excerpts from a speech to the March 16 abortion rights rally in Toronto, by Jacquie Henderson, cross-Canada women's liberation director of the League for Socialist Action — Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. Henderson was the LSA and Young Socialist candidate for Toronto mayor in the December, 1972 election.

I am proud and very happy to express solidarity with this rally for women's right to abortion, on behalf of the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists.

I am also happy for two personal reasons:

First, because I too have suffered under the anti-abortion laws. I have had to have an illegal abortion. And if all of you are criminals, then I am a criminal. But we know it is not us who are the criminals — it is the government and those who uphold their vicious anti-women laws.

I am also pleased to be on the platform tonight because the last time I spoke to a gathering this size, I was excluded. During the Toronto municipal election campaign last December, the Toronto Star organized a meeting of the mayoralty candidates, but gave the platform only to the three candidates that represented their point of view. We protested and they still refused to acknowledge that a woman socialist was also a choice for the next mayor.

I had to march to the stage and demand my right to speak from the audience.

Someone at that meeting asked me why I talked about abortion as a political issue, and why I called on City Council to take a stand for repeal — when abortion is a very personal matter.

I replied, and would like to repeat tonight: It should be a personal matter for the woman involved. But it isn't. Man-made federal laws legislate over women's bodies and lives. That is what we are fighting against.

Jacquie Henderson

We women are fighting for the right to choose — on the question of abortion, and on all questions affecting our lives. That is why socialists greet the women's movement with such enthusiasm — since the struggle for socialism is the struggle for a society where all people have the right to choose over their lives, to control their destiny.

This society denies this right. It puts the interests of a few before those of the vast majority. In defending the property rights of the wealthy minority it tramples on the right to life — to a full life for the majority. Women are gaining confidence in this struggle — confidence that we, not the "experts," the prime ministers, popes, priests, politicians, opinion molders, that we should and will control our lives. We are speaking out against the criminals who run this society. This confidence is part of the process of throwing off our chains of subservience.

This confidence, that we can see here so dramatically tonight, which is gained in collective struggle, is one of our best guarantees that we will be able to change the world — to bring about women's liberation — and the liberation of all humanity

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

Ontario gov't mounts attack on abortions under medicare

While the conference was in session, the opponents of women's right to abortion were busy trying to wipe out the few gains that women have already made. On March 16, Ontario Health minister Richard Potter stated that he was opposed to therapeutic abortions being covered under the Ontario Health Insurance Plan. "I'm sure," Potter stated, "there are people today who use abortion as a means of birth control. We don't hand out free birth control devices so why should we hand out free abortions?"

A spokesman for the Ontario Medical Association agreed with Potter, adding that hospital abortion committees have been "too lax" in their decisions to grant abortions.

The conference replied with a statement which pointed out that "access to medically safe abortions is part of necessary health care for women. We reject any implication that abortion is a luxury that is somehow morally undesirable."

Potter was challenged to a public debate by Eleanor Wright Pelrine, author of Abortion in Canada, and a newly-elected coordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition. She pointed out that his statement amounted to ". . . a recommendation by the health minister for women to resort to back street abortionists."

Her statement was followed a few days later by a press release from Dr. Jan Dukszta, the Ontario New Democratic Party's health critic. Dukszta accused Potter of ". . . callous disregard for the health and welfare of a majority of the Ontario population . . . If Dr. Potter is really concerned about providing optimum health care at the lowest possible cost to the taxpayer," Dukszta said, "he could give approval to the establishment of abortion clinics, where abortions may be carried out . . . quickly and safely as an outpatient procedure."

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

Speech by U.S. feminist leader

The politics of the abortion struggle

The following is abridged from a speech given March 16 in Toronto by Dr. Barbara Roberts, at a public rally to launch the cross-Canada conference for abortion law repeal. Roberts is a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the U.S.

A popular medical dictionary defines a disease as literally a "lack of ease," and venereal disease as disease acquired through sexual intercourse. It would appear therefore that unwanted pregnancy is the most common venereal disease.

It is associated with a woman's physical, mental, social and economic suffering. Seeking to be cured of this disease, women throughout history have suffered pain, mutilation and death in numbers that absolutely stagger the imagination. Today, although the cure for unwanted pregnancy is statistically safer than carrying the pregnancy to term, abortion is still widely withheld because of antiquated laws and religious tenets not shared by a majority of people.

Tonight I'd like to discuss the political aspects of abortion and to comment on the struggle that led up to the recent Supreme Court decision.

The first point that must be made in discussing abortion is that we cannot treat abortion in a vacuum. Any discussion of abortion has to deal with a very basic historical reality, and that is that we all live in a patriarchal society, which legally, economically, socially and sexually oppresses women and has done so since the dawn of history.

ROOTS OF OPPRESSION

Laws against abortion are only a rather brutal example of the systematic oppression directed against women by this society. And to understand why there is opposition to such an obvious right as the right to abortion, we have to examine the history of patriarchal society. In all of these patriarchal cultures, and this one is no exception, a very small minority of people, exclusively male, have ruled over the vast majority of people, basing their power on two things — they control wealth and the means of producing wealth, and they control people and the means of reproducing people. Now we women are the only available means of reproducing people. We produce the most important product of any society — its members. Since the discovery at some point in prehistoric time, of the cause and effect relationship between sex and reproduction, the only way to control reproduction (until this century) has been to control women, especially their sexual behaviour. This control has usually taken the form of severely circumscribing our rights and our sexuality; and this control has been buttressed by all the patriarchal society's institutions — the courts, marriage, the church, the family, etc.

In the last couple of years two very important events have occurred, which have placed the issue of a woman's right to abortion squarely on the political agenda. First of all, the unravelling of the mechanics of reproduction and the development of effective contraceptives and abortion techniques have brought about, for the first time in history, the objective preconditions for sexual liberation. And by sexual liberation, I mean the seizure by women of control over their own reproduction.

Now the second important event has been the rise of the women's liberation movement all over the world. And what the feminist movement has done is vital to the issue of abortion. Because for the first time it has exposed and exploded myths that have been used to keep us in our place — which traditionally has been subject to a man, and hopefully barefoot and pregnant.

Dr. Barbara Roberts

We've exploded the myth that men were ordained by some god to rule, and women, by that same god, to obey. We've exploded the myth of our inferiority; the myth that our place is in the home; the myth that our fulfilment comes from serving men; the myth that sex is sinful and dirty, and doubly dirty for women. We've exploded the myth that unwanted pregnancies are just punishment for the sin of enjoying our bodies.

Finally and most importantly,

→p. 2

p 2

we've exploded the myth that abortion is a crime. The only crime surrounding abortion is the colossal crime perpetrated by a few men against the right of women to control their own bodies. The whole abortion debate, in the final analysis, boils down to just one qnestion — shall women have the right to control their own bodies. Will control over reproduction, this vital societal function, be transferred from the hands of a few powerful men to the women, to the masses of women, who actually do the work of reproduction. That's what the whole struggle is really about — power. Now transfers of power have never taken place easily in the course of history; such transfers are labelled war or revolution. And this transfer of the power over reproduction that women are demanding is nothing short of revolutionary.

ANTI-WOMEN FORCES

The male rulers of society are well aware of that fact, and they have marshalled their most powerful forces in a campaign to keep women enslaved. Let's examine some of the participants in that charade. In the forefront of this hysterical campaign was, and is, the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The church and its hierarchy that today bring us the so-called "Right to Life" and the "fetus fetishists," is the same one that gave us the Spanish Inquisition, the same one that executed 5 million women as witches in the Middle Ages, and the same one which even today holds, as reiterated by Pope Paul, that women are somehow unfit for the priesthood.

Patriarchal religion functions to legitimate the sexual caste system, and all the other caste systems. The church has always upheld the existing social order. It defended monarchy, feudalism and even slavery as divinely ordained. Is it any wonder then that it upholds the slavery of women to their biology?

Then there's a sector of the medical profession, a group whose attitude towards women is best summed up by this quote from a physician who defines woman as "... a uterus surrounded by a supporting organism and a directing personality." We've only to remember the outcry in the 19th century from clergymen and doctors alike against the use of anesthesia to lessen the pain of childbirth to remember that these people do not have an unblemished record with respect to women.

HOW VICTORY WAS WON

We tend to forget that before the women's movement there was no controversy about abortion. There was private anguish, there was hidden torment, there were blasted lives, but there was no public controversy.

Abortions were illegal — men had declared them so, and millions of women accepted this unconstitutional infringement on their rights without question.

Before the women's movement, the Texas and Georgia suits would not have been brought, and had they been, no court, no matter how liberal, would have returned such a verdict.

How then was the victory won? What lessons can women in other countries learn from the Supreme Court decision?

The first thing is, no political body makes decisions in a vacuum. Legislators, judges, governors, are all influenced by public opinion. All the quiet behind-the-scenes lobbying in the so-called abortion reform movement, did nothing to change public opinion.

Public opinion on abortion was changed only when feminist women stood up in public and said, "Abortion is our Right" — when they stood up by the thousands in the streets, in the legislatures and in the courts.

Our victory was not won by working quietly behind the scenes. It wasn't won by preaching love thy enemies. It wasn't won because a few influential people agreed with us. It was won because we convinced millions of people that we were right.

When women took up the battle on their own behalf, when we thought the unthinkable, and said the unspeakable, then and only then did we defeat laws which for decades have degraded, mutilated and murdered women.

What we see here tonight is that Canadian women have also taken up the battle on their own behalf, and that is why I'm confident that before long your law will be struck down, and the threat of unwanted pregnancy that now hangs like a sword over your heads, will be removed.

Camus once said, "No army can withstand the force of an idea whose time has come." The time for women to control their own bodies has come, and no army, no government and no church will stop them.

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

Que. labor unites to fight jailings

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

MARCH 26 — Quebec Justice minister Jerome Choquette, carrying a hard line in the face of mounting Quebecois and international protests against the jailings of Quebec trade union leaders, stated March 23 that the Liberal government will not yield to demands that Marcel Pepin, Yvon Charbonneau and Louis Laberge be released from prison without condition.

A few days earlier the World Federation of Labor (based in Brussels, with some 14 million affiliated members on several continents) demanded amnesty for the three union federation presidents. Threatening to organize a boycott of Canadian shipping and airlines, the World Federation of Labor slated weeks of international solidarity with Quebec labor; April 13 - 20 for Europe; April 30 - May 4 for Africa, and May 1 to 7 for Latin America.

Choquette's hard line approach parallels new charges against other trade unionists, indicating that the Liberal government intends to press its campaign of repression against the labor movement. In mid-March, "Justice" authorities launched proceedings against 44 leaders of the Quebec teachers union (CEQ) alleging their breaking of Law 19, the act used to force public and para-public workers back to work last April. Five charges levelled against the West Montreal Teachers Union carry a possible fine of $350,000, including a $100,000 threat against its president Marcel Duhaime.

Forty-four hospital workers are still up on appeal against fines and prison sentences for some of them, meted out last April. Their appeals, before the Supreme Court of Canada, may well be rejected out of hand, just as the appeals of "The Three" were.

Workers in Sept-Iles are also on trial now on charges stemming from the April-May strikes.

Mounting pressure from the ranks and local unions pressured the leaders of the three main labor bodies, the FTQ, CSN and CEQ, to announce the formation of a new Common Front March 23, this time for the unique aim of the freeing of the three federation presidents. (Suggestions by the CSN and CEQ that the new Front also fight Bill 89, the Bourassa government's bill to crush the right to strike in the public service, were rejected by the FTQ.)

The former Common Front, which was consolidated last year during the great spring strikes, broke down in a torrent of inter-union raiding in the construction industry during the fall.

The earlier formation of CALIPSO (Action Committee for the Liberation of the Trade Union Prisoners at Orsainville Jail), was one of the main developments pushing the labor leaders to establish the new Common Front. CALIPSO, which brought together leaders of the three labor bodies as well as representatives of student and left organizations, including the NDP, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, and the Communist party, had helped to set into motion a Quebec-wide campaign against the jailings. Its plans, including mass meetings, shows by leading entertainers and artists, etc., will be coordinated now by the Common Front.

The building of the Common Front, and its extension to a strong campaign in defense of all the victimized militants and against Bill 89, is the major challenge before Quebec labor in the period ahead. Among the suggestions put forward for building the Common Front is a

→ p 2

"L'AFFRONT COMMUN" — COMMON AFFRONT, was cartoonist's response when Bourassa government moved to raise salaries of National Assembly parliamentarians to $100 a day, at same time as it jailed leaders of public workers' strike for a minimum wage of $100 a week.

NEW COMMON FRONT of Quebec labor has been formed to fight for immediate release of three union presidents. During last May's strike upsurge, officials of Common Front hospital unions [above], charged with violating injunctions, marched defiantly to prison.

p.2

proposal by the Montreal left-wing grouping, FRAP (Front d'Action Politique), that the three main labor bodies hold emergency conventions to map joint plans for the labor defense. Some organizations, including the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, have pushed for a mass labor demonstration May 1, the international day of labor solidarity.

The government's hard line against freeing the labor leaders has met growing opposition not only from Quebec labor, but also from elements not known for their sympathy with workers' struggles. Claude Ryan, influential editor of Le Devoir, has seconded the call of the liberal Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (League for the Rights of Man) for a conditional pardon "in the interests of social peace." These elements fear that the gathering protest in Quebec against the jailings may get out of hand and undermine support for "law and order."

Even doctors — the Federation of General Practitioners — have demanded the immediate and unconditional release of "The Three."

In English Canada, protests have been limited to statements from various unions, including the Canadian Labor Congress which calls for "immediate and complete amnesty." The NDP, student organizations and others have added their voices to demand freedom for the union leaders.

The English Canadian labor movement, its words notwithstanding, is sitting on its hands and failing even to carry out minimal acts of solidarity with Quebec labor. Until freedom is granted to Pepin, Charbonneau, Laberge and other jailed union militants, Canadian Labor should institute an across-the-board policy of non-cooperation and non-participation in all government-labor consultative bodies. The CLC and affiliates must be called upon to wage an action campaign against Bill 89, educating working people about the threat it, and similar legislation in other provinces, poses to the rights of working people.

What is happening in Quebec is not an aberration flowing from the stupidity of an inept government, but a harbinger of events to come in English Canada as well. All the more, the labor movement and the NDP in English Canada must rally to the defense of our class brothers and sisters in Quebec.

labor Challenge #76 Apr 1973

PQ strength blocks Quebec NDP

By ROBERT DUMONT

The major debate at the convention of the Quebec wing of the New Democratic Party this year was, as always, whether to enter the next Quebec provincial elections, expected in 1974.

The 150 delegates, meeting at Cap Rouge March 16-18, rejected almost unanimously a motion urging electoral action at this level. The thinking of many was expressed by outgoing president Raymond Laliberte in his report: "As long as the constitutional future of the province has not been settled, in one way or another — and even by independence — the entry of the NDP would unly confuse things more."

The overwhelming problem facing the NDP in Quebec is that on the level of program, it is virtually indistinguishable from the bourgeois Parti Quebecois — except that the PQ, because of its support for Quebec "sovereignty," is vastly more attractive to workers. As long as the federal NDP will not even allow the Quebec section to support Quebec's right of self-determination, the party has no possibility of sinking roots in Quebec. And with no implantation provincially, the party has little impact on the federal level in Quebec. In last October's federal election it was supported by only 5 percent of Quebec voters.

The convention voted to contest school board elections and the next municipal election in Montreal in 1974 "if no viable group comes forward to oppose the Drapeau slate." (A regional committee of the three major labor federations, CSN, FTQ, and CEQ, has been formed in Montreal to prepare a joint program and local committees to run candidates in the upcoming June school commission elections, or else endorse other candidates with the same program. The Parti Quebecois is planning to field a slate.)

The convention tabled for further study a motion that "French, national language of the Quebecois, be proclaimed the official language of Quebec."

It rejected motions denouncing the federal NDP parliamentary caucus for supporting the Trudeau government, but called on the federal MPs to vote against the corporation tax cuts.

The convention authorized the new executive, headed by 29-year-old Henri-Francois Gautrin, a mathematics professor at Universite de Montreal, to participate actively in the movement for immediate release of the three imprisoned trade union leaders.

The Quebec NDP has about 1,000 full members and some 7,000 members from affiliated trade unions — mainly in Steel, Food, Auto and railway workers unions, all affiliated with the Quebec Federation of Labor. Delegates set as their major task a recruitment campaign to raise full membership to 8,000, or 5 percent of the party's 160,000 votes in Quebec last fall.

Laliberte noted in his report that only 8 percent of the party's budget in Quebec comes from its Quebec membership, the remainder being supplied by the federal party and the trade unions. Of the 22 executive members elected at the previous convention in 1971, he said, 13 had since resigned.

$24,000 by May 1

Well under way!

by THE EDITORS

The drive for $24,000 to publish Labor Challenge for another year is well underway. We're inspired by the response to our appeal at this point.

Ottawa has raised its quota from $400 to $750. Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph has doubled its quota, promising Labor Challenge $200. A few days ago we received a cheque for $150 from an Alberta farmer.

When women from all across Canada attended the cross-country conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, Labor Challenge was there. Sixty-one women bought copies of the paper, particularly attracted by articles on the abortion law repeal campaign.

SCOREBOARD

AREA	QUOTA
Vancouver	$7,200
Edmonton	1,500
Winnipeg	750
Kitchener-Waterloo	200
Sudbury	150
Ottawa	750
Hamilton	200
Toronto	13,000
YSL/S	500
General	200
TOTAL	24,450

And this week we carry reports on that very important conference.

That's what Labor Challenge is all about. It's part of all the struggles for social change in this country, whether it is repeal of restrictive abortion laws, the continuing campaign in defense of the Vietnamese right to self-determination, the struggle to build a socialist leadership within the NDP, or the growing campaign to free the imprisoned Quebec labor leaders. Through our news and analysis of international struggles we're part of the world-wide movement for socialism.

Labor Challenge is an indispensable tool for socialist activists, both as a builder of mass campaigns and an educator in socialist ideas.

Twenty-four thousand dollars is a lot of money. But we think Labor Challenge is worth every penny of our supporters' investment — and more. It's an investment in the socialist future.

So join the struggle. Send your donation to Labor Challenge, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

Enclosed is $ ..... as my contribution to the Labor Challenge fund drive.

Canada gets deeper into Vietnam war - 8

labor Challenge

APRIL 16, 1973
Vol. 4, No. 7 [77]
25 CENTS

Corporations, not wages, to blame

The high cost of eating

by THE EDITORS

Working people across this country are angry. Angry at rising prices which are eating away at their budgets. Angry particularly at the spiralling cost of food, which hits hardest the most exploited and oppressed sectors of the population: the unemployed, the elderly, women, native people. That anger has been expressed already in the support for boycott actions against high food prices.

In the midst of this public outrage the House of Commons special committee on food prices tabled its interim report in parliament on April 2. The product of six weeks of public hearings, actively sabotaged by the refusal of the corporate food chains to provide detailed statistics on profits and monopolization, the committee's nine-page report is little more than an apology for the corporate profit gougers.

Against the immediate evidence which has food prices leading the consumer price index, the report

INSIDE: The roots of inflation, See page 4

cites long-range statistics which indicate that over the years the portion of the average consumer's dollar spent on food has declined. These statistics tell us nothing, except that over the years buying patterns have changed in conjunction with the overall inflation of the cost of living. Yet the committee concludes, Canadians today are eating more meat, and therefore apparently, willing to pay for it. The same excuse for high meat prices is offered by the meatpackers.

The report cynically lectures consumers, "particularly those hardest hit by rising prices, to make a study of good shopping habits," as if that were a remedy to inflation. Among its meagre recommendations there is nothing more far-reaching than a proposed "prices review board," to report to the minister of consumer affairs. Its powers are limited to publicizing price increases.

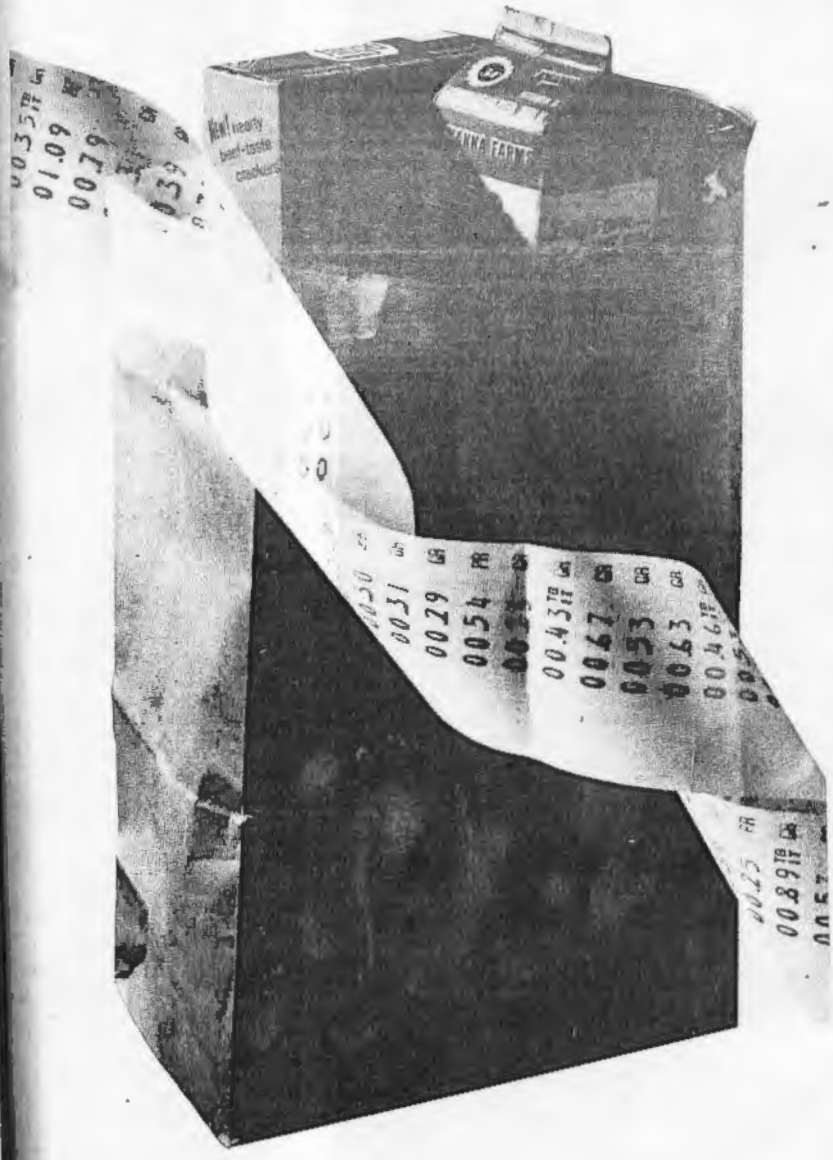
The Retail Council of Canada, whose members include almost all of the major food chains, received the report with equanimity. The proposed review board after all, would "on balance not accomplish very much." The council's president, C.A. Abbott has no objection to formation of such a board: "It doesn't sound like a tiger with many teeth."

Prime Minister Trudeau simply shrugged. The cabinet, he said, would study the committee's report.

Committee proposals fall even considerably short of recommendations put forward by the New Democrats for a prices review board with the power to roll back prices. The NDP advocated that the review board have power to summon witnesses, and inspect books, papers, records, financial statements and contracts held by firms. They recommended that all hearings and reports of the board be public.

Yet the New Democrats voted for the completely inadequate and toothless committee proposals, next to useless in lowering food prices, and effectively relieving the food monopolies of their central responsibility for the high cost of eating. Any prices review board appointed by the Liberal government will in all likelihood, like the now-defunct Prices and Incomes Commission which attacked the labor movement for causing inflation, serve to whitewash the corporate profit-makers.

see page 2



...nt food corporations rake in super profits as prices soar 11 percent in past year.

Labor Challenge #77 Apr 1973

CLC must mobilize ranks

Quebec labor rallies to free leaders

MONTREAL UNIONISTS DEMONSTRATE March 28 against imprisonment of union leaders. Parallel demonstrations took place in20 other Quebec centers. Sign in foreground reads: "The Mont Wright assassins are free," referring to the death of seven construction workers due to unsafe working conditions.

by ROBERT DUMONT

APRIL 9 — "From now on Quebec must be ranked among the repressive countries, along with Portugal, Spain, South Africa and other fascist-like countries," the assistant general secretary of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL) told a recent press conference in Montreal.

Carlos Custer met with officials of the WCL's Quebec affiliate, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), to coordinate international actions calling for the release of the three top labor leaders, Marcel Pepin of the CSN, Louis Laberge of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), and Yvon Charbonneau of the Quebec Teachers' Union (CEQ). They were jailed over two months ago for urging union members to ignore back-to-work injunctions during last spring's massive strike in the public sector.

The 14-million member WCL is sponsoring "weeks of solidarity with Quebec labor" between April 13 and May 7 among its affiliates on several continents. Already member unions in Europe and Latin America have sent protests to the Quebec government. In Mexico City, a thousand workers demonstrated at the Canadian embassy for the immediate release of the three labor leaders.

For the first time, the WCL, which represeats so-called "Christian" unions, has been joined by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) for joint action on a world scale against the "anti-trade union policies" of the Bourassa government, it was announced April 6 in Brussels. The ICFTU, whose affiliates include the Canadian Labor Congress, is headed by CLC president Donald MacDonald.

The American Federation of Teachers, with its 300,000 members, has declared it is "scandalized by the imposition of such sentences on trade unionists."

This international solidarity, widely publicized in the Quebec media, has given a big boost to the defense campaign, which was slow to develop after the initial shock of the jailings. Following on the formation of a new "Common Front" of the three main labor bodies to fight for the freeing of the three presidents, each federation has held meetings at the leadership level to plan the campaign.

Local common fronts have been formed in Hull, Drummondville, and Quebec City. Resolotions calling for immediate release of the Big Three and repeal of the Bourassa government's antilabor Bill 89 continue to pour in from locals and regional labor councils across Quebec.

Among the actions planned to publicize labor's campaign are an "international panel" April 10 at the Plateau Hall in Montreal, to include representatives from world labor organizations, and demonstrations in Montreal and Quebec City on May 1, the international workers' holiday. Regional labor bodies sponsored demonstrations in some 20 cities and towns across the province on March 28.

Some militants are demanding more vigorous initiatives. The Front d'Action Politique (FRAP), a left-wing grouping which contested the 1970 Montreal civic elections with labor backing, has published a special issue of its newspaper, calling for emergency conventions of the labor centrals to step up the camaign for freeing the three, and to link it with a campaign against Bill 89.

The formation of the new Common Front itself marks an important turn in the labor situation. Only a few weeks ago, in the aftermath of the vicious inter-union rivalry and raiding, particularly in the construction industry, any sort of labor unity seemed a very distant perspective. As Quebec-Presse, the trade union-sponsored weekly, remarked March 25, "Even the jailed leaders didn't want to hear any talk of a Common Front."

The press release announcing the Common Front's formation March 21 referred to the reluctance of the labor leadership, aad attributed the new turn to "pressure from militants in the ranks."

Another factor is undoubtedly the Quebec government's unyielding opposition to this point to the mounting pressures for releasse of the three labor leaders. On April 5, CEQ president Yvon Charbonneau

WAITING IN VAIN. Family of jailed Quebec Teachers' Union president Yvon Charbonneau wait outside Orsainville prison April 5. Charbonneau was refused leave when he refused to sign document that he would not make public statements.

was refused a pass from Orsainville prison to attend a meeting of his union's executive, when he refused to sign a document prohibiting him from making any public statement during his temporary release. In a statement released by the CEQ, Charbonneau said he would not be "an accomplice to the hypocrisy of this regime, which through publicity gimmicks wants to make the public believe it is being very generous to the union leaders."

Previously, CSN president Marcel Pepin, released for a meeting of the CSN's confederal council, had his pass cut short when the council began to discuss a campaign against the jailings. FTQ president Louis Laberge, who has had no difficulty getting several passes to attend conferences with management and government leaders, has been informed by authorities that he has lost three days from his possible parole — that is, three days have been added to his sentence — because of antigovernment statements he made to the media during a temporary release for a meeting of the FTQ's executive.

The government's legal proceedings against locals and individual members of the teachers' union for disobeying injunctions last spring now threaten to cost the CEQ more than $1,250,000 in damages. According to Quebec-Presse, the Bourassa cabinet decided to take the teachers to court when it got wind that the CEQ was planning to spend money on "political action" next year, "particularly if there is an election campaign." The lawsuits are designed "to weaken the central financially and prevent it from having the funds required to carry through its plan for political action."

This view is confirmed by a CEQ official. "The CEQis the central that emerged the strongest and least disorganized from the Common Front struggle. They want to pin us down financially and prevent us moving in the coming months."

"We gave the unions a lesson last year," Premier Bourassa boasted to the Financial Post in an interview March 31, referring to the defeat of the public sector strike through Bill 19 and the ensuing enforced settlement. Apparently he is determined to drive that lesson home.

That Bourassa and his Liberal government are acting with the advice and full collaboration of big business was under-scored recently by the "leak" of a secret report prepared last year for the Quebec government by a branch of the American market analysts, Dun and Bradstreet. The Fantus report (as it is called) hails Quebec as a source of cheap labor, but warns of what it calls the "dangerous," "irresponsible," and "very socialistic" positions of the labor movement as outlined in their radical manifestoes. The report clearly points to the need of big business for repressive labor laws and "stricter law enforcement" to ensure a "favorable investment climate" for foreign capital.

While Quebec and international labor mobilizes in defense of the jailed union leaders, the English-Canadian labor leadership is maintaining comparative silence. CLC president MacDonald announced April 6 that representatives of the ICFTU, the WCL and the International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions will visit Quebec next month for rallies in support of the Big Three. But why just Quebec? What is the CLC doing to mobilize the union ranks in English Canada in defense of our class brothers and sisters in Quebec? Why is English Canadian labor not holding its own demonstrations, protest meetings at the local level, etc.? The New Democratic Party, after some initial protests by federal leader David Lewis, has lapsed into silence.

If the Bourassa government can succeed in its attempts to jail Quebec labor, not just the leaders but the unions themselves through such repressive legislation as Bill 89, which would ban strikes in the public services, a grave blow will have been delivered against all Canadian workers. Unity is needed — and needed now!

labor Challenge #77 Apr 1973

'Repeal antilabor laws,' say B.C. NDP ranks

FIGHT AGAINST ANTILABOR LAWS was carried by B.C. labor movement while Social Credit held power. Now NDP government refuses to repeal the laws. Above is labor demonstration against Socred cabinet, June, 1972.

by JOAN NEWBIGGING

VANCOUVER — As the first full session of the B.C. legislature under an NDP government draws to a close, pressure is continuing to mount within the party for the NDP to repeal B.C.'s antilabor laws. On March 30, 130 rank-and-file NDPers from every constituency on the lower mainland met to protest the Barrett government's failure to act on this question. That same weekend the NDP provincial council unanimously passed a motion calling on the NDP government to begin repealing the antilabor laws this session.

Those events come on top of widespread demands throughout the party and the labor movement that the NDP move to implement party policy and get rid of the antilabor legislation passed during 20 years of Socred rule. Party activists are disturbed and angered by the leadership's failure to act. As one participant in the March 30 meeting declared: "Some people say we shouldn't protest because we're embarrassing the government. Well, when guys on the job ask me why the NDP government doesn't repeal the antilabor laws, it's me who is embarrassed." The meeting, which was organized by an ad hoc committee of rank-and-file activists, resolved to set up a permanent labor action committee to continue this campaign.

The provincial council meeting was the second council meeting to firmly demand that the Barrett government implement NDP labor policy. On both occasions the NDP caucus has refused to accede to the will of the party membership. Labor minister William King made the most outrageous statement to date at the council meeting. According to the Vancouver Province, King told delegates that the NDP must move slowly on changing the labor laws, because it will not remain in power forever, and there must be a system to guarantee labor peace after the NDP loses power.

With this in mind, King has established a three-man advisory committee to hear proposals from both management and labor on labor legislation, at a conference to take place in Victoria this month. Their recommendations are to be included in new legislation to be brought forward at the fall session.

For the working people of B.C., who worked to elect the NDP government, this continued failure to repeal the antilabor laws is a callous betrayal. Week by week these laws have been used to turn back labor struggles and to thwart the efforts of the unorganized to organize. The workers at Denny's restaurant in Vancouver, who were fired after a walkout, are prevented from organizing legal pickets by injunctions granted to management. Employees of Shoppers' Drug Mart, now on strike, are forced by injunction to limit pickets to three per store. In both these cases the victims of the antilabor laws are women, traditionally underpaid and unorganized.

On March 22, theSupreme Court of Canada handed down a judgment holding the United Fishermen and Allied Workrs Union liable for damages of $108,000 under the Trades Union Act, for a strike that took place in 1967. These concrete examples of what the antilabor laws means in life have fuelled the opposition to Barrett and King.

Many party activists have been led to conclude that the problem rests with Labor minister King — that a new Labor minister is required. But the problem does not rest with one individual, however indifferent or incompetent he may be. The problem is rooted in the social democratic character of the NDP, which permeates the outlook of the entire leadership. They see themselves not as the champions of working people, but rather as arbitrators in the class struggle, mediating between the two sides, labor and capital.

Their categorical refusal to repeal the antilabor laws only underlines how this leadership cannot be relied upon to act resolutely on behalf of the working people of B.C. The ranks of the party must organize, as they are already starting to do, in defense of their own class interests.

This struggle, and the struggle for implementation of the party's program on women's rights must be generalized. Left wingers within the party will have to organize themselves into a socialist wing on the basis of a class struggle program.

labor Challenge #77 Apr 1973

NDP, labor must demand: 'Nationalize Bell Canada!'

by JOHN WILSON

On April 6, bending to massive opposition, federal Communications minister Gerard Pelletier announced that the government had suspended the decision of the Canadian Transport Commission (CTC) to grant outrageous telephone rate increases to the giant Bell Canada monopoly.

As has been the case with the other three sets of increases granted to Bell by the CTC in the last three and a half years, Bell didn't get all it asked for, but not appreciably less.

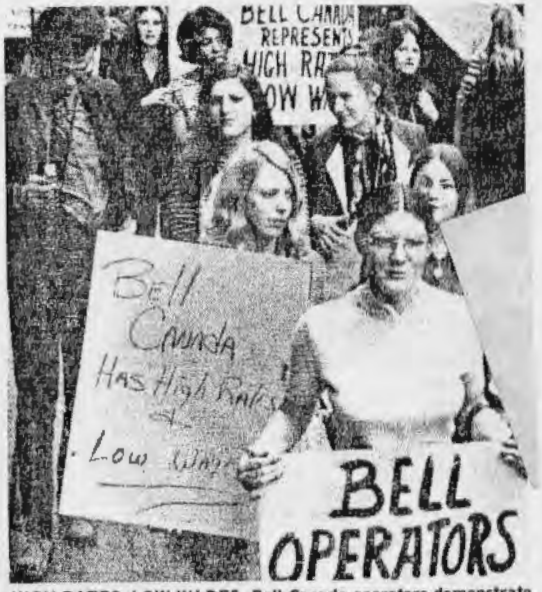
The largest increase would be in installation charges. While refusing the company an immediate 50 percent increase (!) the CTC would allow an immediate increase of 25 percent, followed by another of 25 percent on Jan. 1, 1974. For average residential subscribers, this translates into $13.75 this year (as contrasted to the current $11), and $16.50 by 1974. The basic monthly residential service charge would be hiked by 5 cents a month, or 1.5 percent, which ever is greater, and charges for long-distance calls would rise substantially, as would charges for extension phones and other auxiliary services.

As if that weren't enough, Bell already has an additional application for further increases to be ruled on by the CTC this fall. This not only includes further price-gouging in service charges, but an increase of 100 percent for pay telephones (from 10 to 20 cents) and a charge of 25 cents per call for directory assistance — propositions that the CTC has already indicated it will consider favorably!

The respite for Bell customers, the overwhelming majority of whom are working people, is not likely to be more than very short. The government has not committed itself to any definite period of suspension of the increases, let alone to cancelling or modifying them.

The New Democratic Party, which demanded and forced the special parliamentary debate on the increases, has overwhelmingly exposed the phony arguments of Bell which the CTC was only too happy to adopt. Countering the absurd demagogy of A. J. DeGrandpre, Bell executive vice-president, who claimed that the company's 1973 rate of return on capital of 7.4 percent was "intolerable" and insufficient for future investment, federal NDP leader David Lewis quoted Bell's own statistics against it. The company's profit in 1972 was $164,750,000 up from $68,250,000 in 1963. Moreover in the same period, Bell's profits increased in every single year except 1969; in 1970 by 17.2 percent over 1969, in 1971, by 10.5 percent over 1970, and in 1972 by 11.9 percent over 1971. Certainly well

→p. 2



HIGH RATES, LOW WAGES. Bell Canada operators demonstrate in Toronto during last year's strike.

p.2

above the average rate of inflation that Bell claims as an argument for the increases!

Lewis also pointed out that Bell had deferred taxes of $322-million by the end of 1972 — in effect an interest-free loan in that amount out of the taxes paid by Canadian workers.

And as Arnold Peters (NDP - Timiskaming) pointed out in the Commons debate, there has been no disclosure by Bell of how much of its profits go into, or are taken out of the various companies which are wholly-owned or controlled by it. These include: Northern Electric, Microsystems International, Nevron Industries, Northern Electric Distribution, Northern Telecom Inc, of Boston, Northern Telephone of Ontario, Northern Telephone of Quebec, and others. As well it has a 49 percent ownership of Bell Northern Research.

In addition, these companies are frequently provided with grants and interest-free loans by the federal government which run into millions of dollars.

Peters also pointed out that in a survey of towns with a population of between five and ten thousand, monthly basic rates for telephones were substantially lower in government-owned provincial telephone systems (Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba) than in privately-owned systems. The most extreme difference was between Caraquet, N.B. ($5.60) and Flin Flon, Man. ($3.25). This, despite the fact that these province-owned systems do not enjoy Bell's high population density market and are dependent on it for equipment and other services. Another NDPer, John Rodriguez of Nickel Belt, demonstrated that overall rates of the systems operated by provincial governments were substantially lower than those of Bell.

But while the NDP thoroughly exposed Bell's arguments and the apologetics of the CTC, if did not, as a party, go further than demanding cancellation of the increase. There was consistently a thread running through the NDP MPs' speeches which suggested that the problem was that of incompetence or gullibility on the part of the CTC, or that it had somehow been intimidated.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact this whole case exposed the myth of the "independence" of quasi-judicial state agencies like the CTC which is alleged to protect the "public interest." How can it be expected that a government which represents the corporate rulers of Canada can create boards and agencies which will act independently of, and in opposition to its own class interests? Particularly when the appointments to these bodies are nothing but lucrative sinecures for retired or defeated capitalist politicians, businessmen, lawyers, and judges with the incidental "labor" representative thrown in for window-dressing?

This was glaringly obvious in the case of the recent Bell application, nearly all of which was routinely approved by the CTC, even in the face of opposition from such bodies as the Ontario and Quebec governments and the Ontario Association of Reeves and Municipalities. The CTC is also in charge of protecting the "public interest" in the case of the railways and airlines. In the case of the railways, it has consistently permitted CP and CN to reduce or cancel "unprofitable" passenger lines and to continually increase freight rates. It is clear what part of the "public" such bodies as the CTC are out to protect. Yet the NDP did not even expose the reactionary character of the CTC, let alone call for the abolition of this farce.

John Rodriguez (NDP — Nickel Belt) stated the obvious when he declared that, "Indeed, many people in Nickel Belt would far rather see added to the words on the sign outside the Bell Canada office here in Ottawa, 'Place Bell Canada' — 'Under public ownership.' "

But while Lewis hinted at "public control" and Peters called for taking over Bell and making it a Crown Corporation, the NDP as a whole failed to take up the case for nationalization to end Bell's monopolistic gouging, despite the fact that the last Ontario NDP convention voted almost unanimously in favor of such a policy.

The left in the NDP and the trade unions should not permit the bureaucratic misleadership of Lewis and Co, to let go a brilliant opportunity to popularize the concepts of nationalization not only of Bell, but of the entire communications and transportation field.

labor Challenge #11 Apr 1973

Sisterhood is powerful

MORGENTALER DEFENSE CAMPAIGN GROWS — Dr. Henry Morgentaler, currently facing three criminal charges of performing and conspiring to perform illegal abortions, has demanded that the Quebec government approve his Montreal clinic for legal abortions. At the same time, the Front commun pour l'abrogation des lois sur l'avortement (Common Front for Repeal of the Abortion Laws) has launched two petition campaigns in his defense.

MORGENTALER DEFENSE CAMPAIGN. Dr. Henry Morgentaler and Stella Guy of the Front Commun pour l'abrogation des lois sur l'avortement (Common Front for Repeal of the Abortion Laws) at Montreal press conference March 29.

A March 29 press conference in Montreal, sponsored by the Front Commun, announced that the first petition would demand the dropping of all charges against Dr. Morgentaler, the second would be signed by those who declare their "complicity" with Dr. Morgentaler — those who have helped a woman get an abortion.

The press conference received wide publicity in the Montreal daily press, centering on Dr. Morgentaler's admission that he has performed more than 5,000 abortions in his clinic. He first made this declaration at the March 16 Toronto rally which launched the cross-Canada conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition for Repeal of the Abortion Laws.

In a March 27 letter to Quebec Social Affairs minister Claude Castonguay, Dr. Morgentaler demanded that the government authorize his clinic to perform legal abortions under the provincial health insurance plan. Dr. Morgentaler announced that he has already received offers from 10 doctors to serve on a three-doctor therapeutic committee, required by law to determine whether an abortion is necessary "to save the life or health of the woman." The proposed committee for Dr. Morgentaler's clinic would approve an abortion for any woman who wanted one.

At the beginning of the press conference, a telegram of support was read from NDP MP Grace MacInnis. The Women's Center in Montreal also declared its full support for both Dr. Morgentaler and the Front Commun.

LANG REFUSES PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON ABORTION — We reprint here an exchange in the House of Commons April 5, between NDP MP Grace MacInnis and the Minister of Justice Otto Lang:

MacInnis: . . . In view of the fact that the Criminal Code requires that abortions be performed only in accredited or approved hospitals and with the sanction of a hospital board, and because in many areas the refusal of hospitals to establish such abortion boards creates a situation where other hospitals are overloaded or where women must travel to other provinces or other countries to seek an abortion or fall into the hands of illegal or incompetent practitioners, will the government consider removing abortion from the Criminal Code, thus making possible the establishment of clinics where legal abortions can be performed by competent physicians?

Lang: No, Mr. Speaker, we do not intend to take action to remove it from the Criminal Code.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear!

Lang: I should add that I do not see anything in the Criminal Code that requires any hospital or individual to participate in abortions.

MacInnis: May I ask whether the minister will at least consider honoring the promise of his predecessur that parliament would be given an opportunity to debate this matter?

Lang: Mr. Speaker, several years have gone by since that time. In that interval a good deal of debate has occurred in the country and I am not sure whether any fruitful purpose would be served by a debate in the House at this time.

labor Challenge #77 Apr 1973

Toronto students fight for bill of rights

by ROB ROY

The school administration and a number of right wing teachers at Harbord Collegiate in Toronto have launched an attack on high school students led by Young Socialist student president David Johnson, who are campaigning for a High School Bill of Rights. This move by students to fight for democracy in the schools has already extended to schools across the city.

Fearing the extension of the Bill of Rights movement, the Harbord administration is attempting to stop the struggle with cynical appeals for a return to an "educational atmosphere" and outright intimidation. Toronto's big business press has echoed the paternalistic views of the school administration. In an editorial April 7, the Toronto Star labelled the Bill of Rights "unrealistic," then in a feature article the same day gave prominence to such comments on the Bill as: "the work of a very small minority of malcontents and their devoted band of well-intentioned but misguided idealists."

The Bill was developed at Harbord after the school administration censored the student newspaper. This denial of freedom of the press sparked discussion about all the democratic rights that students are denied.

The Harbord Bill of Rights provides a general outline for democratizing the school. It's 44 demands include freedom of speech and the press, freedom to organize political clubs, autonomy for students' councils, due process of law before disciplinary action, freedom to distribute leaflets on school property, the right to hold meetings in the school without a staff member present and freedom of physical contact. The bill also demands some measure of student control of curriculum, discipline and school functions.

The Bill is now being studied by a subcommittee of the Toronto Board of Education, which is holding public hearings on the Bill. Copies of the Bill have been distributed to schools throughout the city for discussion among students and staff.

A key figure in the Bill of Rights fight is Young Socialist David Johnson, who was elected president of the students' council by an overshelming majority Feb. 8. Johnson is well known in his school for the leading role he played in the 1971 and 1972 struggles against educational cutbacks. An editorial in the Globe and Mail last spring called for his expulsion from school for calling student walkouts.

Johnson recounted for us some of the recent developments around the Bill of Rights fight:

"On March 28th, the students' counell decided to open a bank account separate from that of the account under the school principals' control. The rationale for this was that on three occasions principal Haist refused the council money for the student newspaper. We feel that the students or the students' council should control their own activity fee money they give voluntarily for school activities. The staff advisor of the council declared this action illegal and left the meeting. Several days later, the staff advisor sent a letter around to the classes stating that what the council had done was illegal and that I had stolen the money.

"That Friday, the physical education teachers threatened to end extra curricular activities if the students accepted what the students'

→p2

STUDENT WALKOUTS against educational cutbacks in 1971 and 1972 showed power of high school student movement. Above, students converge on Queen's Park, Toronto, May 1971.

p.2

DAVID JOHNSON. Young Socialist is president of Harbord Collegiate students' council.

council was doing.

"At two assemblies after the weekend, the students' council began a defense: we published a letter from a lawyer who felt that what the students' council did was not illegal; we published a budget to show where student money goes. We must view this attack by the administration as an attack on the whole struggle for students' rights and 'radical' students' councils.

"The students who are for the Bill of Rights are organizing against the campaign initiated by the administration. We want to draw more students into this group and circulate a petition supporting the students' council's actions, using this as a way to strengthen our student support and push back the administration attempt to intimidate students and teachers. We also want the Teachers' Federation to take a clear stand against the intimidation tactics of the principal and for the Bill of Rights."

We asked Johnson why he thought the Bill of Rights had encountered such an opposition.

"Schools take over the domineering role of the family and the students' rights struggle challenges this," Johnson said. "Students' rights would undermine the reactionary role of high schools in conditioning students to passively accept the norms of this society.

"The struggle for democratic rights in the school also poses the question of democracy at one's place of work after finishing high school."

$24,000 by May 1

Labor Challenge needs your help

by THE EDITORS

Manitoba's Premier Ed Schreyer recently said that given his choice he would model any newspaper on the Toronto Globe and Mail. The Globe and Mail, our readers must have noticed, is not our model.

The Globe and Mail serves the interest of the status quo in this country; it is probably the most sophisticated voice of big business in Canada.

Labor Challenge stands in opposition to the capitalist status quo. It defends the interests of working people against everything the Globe and Mail stands for, posing the socialist alternative to big business rule.

The resources behind the Globe and Mail are massive. It rakes in massive profits from advertisers, the same corporations whose interests it defends in its editorial pages.

The ruling class makes certain its mass media are well funded. And so must we, as campaigners for social change, make every effort to see that Labor Challenge continues to publish.

Labor Challenge is asking its readers for $24,000 by May 1 to enable us to publish for the next year. That's a pittance compared to the money behind the Globe and Mail, but for us that's a lot of money. Obtaining it requires a real campaign.

That's why we're asking for our readers' support. We're asking you to dig deep, to send us whatever money you can spare; and to approach anyone else who might be willing to make a donation.

We think Labor Challenge is worth every penny invested in it. Fill out the coupon below and return it with your contribution to the Labor Challenge fund drive.

SCOREBOARD

AREA	QUOTA
Vancouver	$7,200
Edmonton	1,500
Winnipeg	750
Kitchener-Waterloo	200
Orillia	150
Ottawa	750
Hamilton	200
Toronto	13,000
YS/LJS	500
General	200
TOTAL	24,450

Enclosed is $ ..... as my contribution to the Labor Challenge fund drive.

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... **ZONE** ..... **PROV** .....

labor Challenge #77 Apr 1973

No borders for women's liberation

by LIS ANGUS

"The women's liberation movement in Canada needs to be liberated from U.S. women." So says Robin Mathews, an English professor at Carleton University and an outspoken advocate of quotas on foreign professors in Canada. Mathews was delivering a lecture April 1, as part of a Canadian political economy course sponsored by the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada, formerly known as the Waffle group in the NDP.

"Everywhere I go in Canada to speak," the Toronto Star quoted Mathews, "I am told by Canadian women ... that the women's movement is twisted by U.S. women, that the libraries are full of U.S. women's literature to the exclusion of English and even Canadian materials. I have heard the stories too often to pretend with you that they do not have substance."

Mathews argued that "Canadians who are seriously progressive should throw out most of the U.S. influence and U.S. women messing around in Canadian women's liberation."

Contending that "Canadians are colonized even in their liberation movements," Mathews recalled a Winnipeg conference where the speaker brought in at highest cost was a women's liberationist from New York. In her speech she said she didn't believe in borders, echoing, according to Mathews "exactly the beliefs of the U.S. multinational corporation."

Mathews said that these kinds of people don't advance the struggle here. "They superimpose the values of an alien imperialist country, and by doing so support the continued colonization of Canada."

While one might agree that there is a need for studies and literature on and by Canadian women and their struggles, it is clear that Mathews has failed to understand both the origins of the women's liberation movement and one of its most powerful features — its internationalism.

Women are moving into struggle because they are oppressed as women — in Canada, the United

Robin Mathews

States and across the globe — by class society. Women are refusing to suffer the dehumanizing subjugation and exploitation inflicted by a small handful of corporate rulers and sustained by all their reactionary institutions, from the church to the state.

It is capitalism, not American women, which is keeping women in Canada down. And it is the laws and institutions of capitalism which they must struggle against to win their liberation.

The understanding of women from many countries that they share a common oppression and have common bonds in struggle is a valuable attribute of the feminist movement. This internationalism has enabled women from different countries to learn from each other's experiences, research and theory.

The founding of the women's liberation movement in Canada drew inspiration not only from the women's movement internationally, but also from independent movements of oppressed people like the Blacks. It has enabled women in one country to inspire and advance the struggles of others — as shown by the advance to the international abortion rights movement by the Supreme Court victory in the U.S. in January. As this internationalism grows, the movement gains new strength, as women develop unity and solidarity in struggle.

How do American feminists "echo exactly the beliefs of the U.S. multinational corporations?" Are these women opposed to equal pay for equal work, daycare, abortion? Do they support the exploitation of women? Do they work to keep women as wife, consumer, mother, fashion conscious sex-object? Do they argue that women shouldn't organize to change their situation? Do they support genocide against the Indians, poverty, unemployment, racism, pollution, the subjugation of peoples from Vietnam to Argentina?

How are the ideas of women militants in the U.S. "the values of an alien imperialist country" when it is precisely those values which they and their sisters around the world are fighting against?

For Mathews, American feminists are nothing but "U.S. women messing around in Canadian women's liberation," and "twisting" the movement for their own personal gain. His contorted logic turns the oppressed into the oppressor; the natural ally into the enemy.

Mathews' crude analysis and advice only tends to divide the united power of women who are organizing against their oppression and give added ammunition to the big business propagandists to use against the women's movement. The effect of this kind of national chauvinism is to sidetrack and block the struggle for women's liberation.

In Brief

ISRAELI SOCIALISTS SENTENCED

Sentences for six of the defendants inIsrael's "spy" trial were handed down March 26.One of the defendants, who had entered a guilty plea early in the trial, received a two-year sentence. The others received prison sentences ranging from 10 to 17 years.

Accused of participation in a "spy ring," the five defendants who pleaded not guilty admitted going to Syria and meeting with Syrian citizens. But they denied having been involved in espionage or having transmitted information not readily available in Israel.

Dozens of people have been arrested in connection with this case, someof them charged with nothing more than failure to inform on the "spy ring." Israeli leftists have alleged that the purpose of the government "spy trials" is "to create an atmosphere of public lynching" directed against the left, and to inhibit common organization of Jews and Arabs in Israel.

Particularly ominous has been the use of torture to extract confessions from some of the defendants, confessions later repudiated but admitted as evidence nonetheless.

The only basis for the espionage charges was the defendants contact with "hostile" Arabs. No explanation has been offered as to the substance of "vital information" leaked to "the enemy" nor as to how it might have been obtained.

STEPHEN LEWIS CALLS FOR NATIONALIZATION OF URANIUM RESERVES

Speaking March 27 in reply to the speech from the throne in the Ontario legislature, NDP leader Stephen Lewis called for a new approach to energy resources, through public ownership of all future development. As immediate measures, Lewis called for nationalizing uranium reserves and public ownership of lignite deposits currently being developed in northern Ontario by an Alberta-based corporation.

While Lewis here gives lip service to party policy, as enunciated in a resolution passed by the 1970 NDP convention for the nationalization of energy resources, it should be noted that he calls only for nationalization of reserves and future development. This would leave the existing corporations in the resource-based industry intact, free to extract their super profits.

labor Challenge #77 Apr 1973

Editor: GEORGE ADDISON
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

Published forInightly. P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ontario. Subscriptions: One year (24 issues) $4.00. By first class mail $5.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Challenge. These are expressed in editorials. Second class mail registration number 2401.

Drive for new readers

Subscription campaign needs big push

by DARRELL FURLOTTE

As we go to press April 10, we are still some considerable distance from our goal of 500 new subscriptions or renewals by April 21. We have now received 206 subscriptions, 41 percent of our objective. Within the next few days it will be necessary for our supporters to make an all out effort to reach their quotas.

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
General	10	10	100
Ottawa	25	20	80
Hamilton	10	8	80
Montreal	10	8	80
Edmonton	20	13	65
Vancouver	100	44	44
Regina	5	2	40
Toronto	250	91	36
Kitchener-Waterloo	20	6	30
Winnipeg	30	4	13
Saskatoon	5	-	-
St. Catharines	5	-	-
Halifax	10	-	-
TOTAL	500	206	41

To this point some areas have done very well. Ottawa, Hamilton and Montreal are well on the way to going over the top, having already reached 80 percent of their quotas.

If you're a new reader of Labor Challenge why not subscribe? If you already subscribe to the paper consider renewing your subscription to take advantage of our special book offer. Enclose an extra dollar with payment for a one-year subscription and we'll send you the book of your choice from the following list:

1. DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR by Ernest Mandel
2. AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel
3. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM by George Novack
4. THEIR MORALS AND OURS by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey and George Novack
5. MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY
6. PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION by Evelyn Reed
7. A REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY FOR THE '70s Documents of the Socialist Workers Party
8. REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST STUDENTS IN POLAND SPEAK OUT by Kuron and Modzelewski
9. SOCIALISM ON TRIAL by James P. Cannon
10. THE MARXIST THEORY OF ALIENATION by George Novack and Ernest Mandel

clip and mail to LABOR CHALLENGE, Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

ONE YEAR $4. ( )

INTRODUCTORY SUB (8 issues) $1. ( )

special offer $1 ( )

SEND ME BOOK # ——
(This offer is good until April 21, 1973)

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Prov .....

Phone .....

labor Challenge

New publication of Transitional Program

Strategy for socialist revolution

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. By Leon Trotsky. Introductory essays by Joseph Hansen and George Novack. 224 pages. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973. Paperback, $2.95.

labor Challenge

ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Transitional method was applied by world Trotskyist movement to defend Vietnamese revolution. Here, a view of Jan. 20, 1973 antiwar demonstration in Toronto.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Bolsheviks utilized transitional and democratic demands to lead mass struggle for creation of workers state. Here, 13,000 Bolshevik sailors arrive in Petrograd from Kronstadt, 1917.

Leon Trotsky

Strategy for socialist Revolution

New publication of the “Transitional Program”
(From Labour Challenge #73, April 1973

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.
By Leon Trotsky. Introductory essays by Joseph Hansen and George Novack. 224 pages. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973. Paperback, (2.95. Distributed in Canada by Crescent Publications, 25 Bulwer Street, Toronto.

Reviewed by Penny Simpson

Perhaps more than any other Marxist work, Trotsky's *Transitional Program* demarks the method of revolutionary Marxism from reformism and ultraleftism. It ranks with Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* and Lenin's *State and Revolution* as one of the most basic, pivotal documents of the Marxist movement, vital reading for anyone who sees the need to change the capitalist system and build a socialist world.

The *Transitional Program* was adopted 35 years ago as the founding resolution of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution. Today, with the rapid rise of the Trotskyist movement around the world, its relevance and freshness is striking.

This new Pathfinder edition is unique and particularly valuable. It includes, along with the Transitional Program itself, a series of discussions by Trotsky with leaders of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party; which further explain and develop the transitional method. As well, there are three valuable introductory essays, two by Joseph Hansen and one by George Novack. Two resolutions which apply the method of the Transitional Program are also reprinted.

CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

The main theme of the program is that the crisis humanity faces on a world scale is a crisis of leadership: the lack of a revolutionary leadership capable of leading the proletariat and all the oppressed out of the morass and decay of capitalism — its inflation, unemployment, poverty, monetary crises, its nuclear blackmail and imperialist wars, its racism, sexism, genocide, ecological destruction and brutality. This crisis has not lessened but grown more acute, and the program posed by Leon Trotsky for building the leadership capable of meeting the task of carrying through the socialist revolution has gained in immediacy.

The freshness of the *Transitional Program* results precisely from the fact that it is not a polished program with an answer to every question and a slogan for every struggle. What it provides, instead of a crystal ball, is a method by which the fundamental ideas of how to make a revolution can be elaborated upon and utilized in the course of mass struggle. The transitional method is a simple one. Revolutionists understand that a socialist system is in the interests of working people, but most working people themselves do not yet grasp this. Moreover, the majority of the oppressed masses are

needed to carry out this revolution for themselves, but most do not feel that they have the power to change the system even though many may feel totally dissatisfied. The task of revolutionists is to build a bridge between the present consciousness of the working masses and the necessary tasks that they must carry out to make the revolution.

“This is done” as Joseph Hansen puts it, by "approaching the masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through progressive struggles and explanations toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialist revolution."

Revolutionists put forward a program of democratic and transitional demands, as Trotsky put it "stemming from today's conditions and today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat.(”)

MASS STRUGGLE

Whether the issues around which the working class or other oppressed have begun to move can be characterized as immediate needs, defense or extension of democratic rights or as directly challenging capitalism, revolutionists put forward the same method of struggle — the proletarian method of mass struggle, independent of and directed against the ruling class and its institutions.

"We are unable to choose the field of battle," explains Hansen. "In the class struggle, battles break out as a consequence of forces over which we have no control at the present stage of our development. Our party, as a revolutionary socialist party, has no choice but to engage in these battles, otherwise it will not grow but will wither on the vine . . . The audacity in the transitional approach consists in attempting to wrest these slogans out of the hands of the bourgeois politicians, who seek to utilize them to divert the masses into safe parliamentary channels."

George Novack's essay on the role of the Transitional Program discusses how revolutionary socialists use the program as a toolkit for entering into these battles. The particular situation has to be evaluated and the right demand or demands chosen to suit it. For example, Trotsky's Transitional Program does not provide any slogans for the problem of inflation, but it accurately sums up the correct angles from which to approach the problem in two sections, on the sliding scale of wages, and business secrets and workers' control of industry.

The sliding scale of wages has become popularly known as the "escalator clause." Partially won in North American industry in the 1940s, particularly in the auto industry, this measure has been under steady attack by the bosses for more than 20 years. It combines with a sliding scale of hours (that is, dividing the available hours of work among all workers) with no reduction in pay, as a measure to combat unemployment.

Trotsky also explains how, faced with economic chaos, "the Social Democrats prepare to drain the ocean of anarchy with spoonfuls of bureaucratic 'planning' " while professors write articles about "regulating" it. All of them "stop short in pious trepidation before the threshold of the trusts and their business 'secrets.' "The abolition of "business secrets" is posed as the first step to taking control of industry. Today, with the growing anger and protest over rising food prices, revolutionaries put forward the demand of "Open the books!"

OPEN THE BOOKS

The demand "Open the books," consistently applied, can challenge the whole structure of capitalist industry. All the corporate records from top to bottom should be opened to workers' inspection, to determine the real financial state of the capitalist corporations. The demand for committees of consumers and food industry workers logically follows, as well as extension of workers' control over every aspect of the industry from the slaughterhouse to packaging and retailing, all of which are controlled by the same capitalists, like GeorgeWeston & Co. and Canada Packers.

The massive struggle of workers and consumers (mostly women who are workers themselves or wives of workers) to pry open this industry, or any other will reveal to everyone that inflation is the product of capitalist anarchy and the rabid pursuit of profits. Interestingly enough, two of the demands put forward by Lenin in "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It" which he wrote in September 1917, only a month before the Bolsheviks took power, was for the organization of consumers' societies and the abolition of commercial secrets (in addition to nationalization of the banks and monopolies) as means of combating the chaos and threat of famine hanging over the collapsing Russian society.

Not all of the demands put forward in the Transitional Program directly challenge capitalist property relations in and of themselves. The program also includes immediate demands like higher wages and the defense of, or fight for, democratic rights.

DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

Ultraleftists frequently argue that since this is now the epoch of proletarian revolution, and democratic demands belong to the epoch of bourgeois revolution, revolutionists cannot put democratic demands forward. Nothing less than socialism will do, they say. More frequently, in a less crude fashion, they will argue that democratic demands are inferior to transitional ones, or are peripheral to the "real proletarian" struggle.

One of the gravest errors revolutionists can fall into is to mistake their own wishes or level of consciousness for that of the masses. Trotsky, in hailing the founding conference of the Fourth International and its adoption of the Transitional Program, called such people "useless." To disparage or refuse to lead the fight for democratic rights or to battle to preserve them would be to abandon such a struggle to reformist and capitalist

politicians, who do all they can to prevent mass struggles.

George Novack, who has written extensively on the question of democracy and revolution, points out in his essay that "democratic slogans... are not ends in themselves."

"... the struggle for the attainment of greater democracy in any field is a means to the establishment of a workers power which can really institute a socialist democracy. The purpose of democratic slogans and their implementation in action is to effect a change in the power relations between the classes to the advantage of the exploited and oppressed."

Revolutionary Marxists use democratic slogans as levers for the mobilization of the masses, and fight for them with the same means as for the other demands in the Transitional Program — proletarian mass action. The struggle for democratic demands can serve the general purpose projected by the Transitional Program — drawing layers of the working class and its allies into struggles through which they come to a better understanding of the character of their enemy, and the nature of the struggle required to defend their interests.

Are democratic demands peripheral, to be dumped for slogans of a brighter shade of red as soon as possible? The importance and weight of a given democratic slogan depends on the complex, concrete circumstances in which the struggle takes place.

Trotsky gives greatest importance to democratic demands in fascist, colonial and degenerated workers states in the Transitional Program. But, in general, he describes how the decay of capitalism makes it less and less able to grant democratic rights. Even in countries like Canada and the United States, which still maintain a formal bourgeois democracy, mass struggles for democratic rights assume growing explosiveness.

QUEBEC LABOR UPSURGE

The spring, 1972, Quebec labor upsurge is a striking example. Here, a union struggle over economic issues (the April general strike in the public sector) turned into a mass struggle for democratic rights when the union leaders were imprisoned. Because of the character of the Struggle for democratic rights, workers across Quebec were mobilized in a struggle of unprecedented militancy.

But this was also an example of the absolute necessity of revolutionary leadership. Because it was lacking in this case, the struggle died very quickly, without many of the necessary lessons being drawn by the workers from their struggle.

ANTIWAR FIGHT

The Fourth International, now active and growing on every continent, played a leading role in the struggle to defend the Vietnamese revolution against the genocidal assault by U.S. imperialism. How they went about it provides a good example of the concrete

utilization of the transitional method.

Beginning with an understanding of the objective conditions, the key role of the Vietnamese struggle in the world conflict between imperialism and revolution, the Trotskyists posed the need for mass worldwide struggles to oppose U.S. aggression, to defend the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. Such a campaign would aid the Vietnamese people's struggle, and help the masses learn about the nature of imperialism.

In each country, the Trotskyists developed a program of simple demands, which could link the objective tasks with the consciousness of the masses as it is, and pose the need for mass action in defense of Vietnamese rights, In Canada, "the demands "U.S. out now" and "End Canada's complicity," – put forward by the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière became the central demands of the antiwar .movement.

In the United States, the Trotskyists centered on the single demand “Out now," to lead in building mass actions which changed the course of US politics, and shaped the radicalization of hundreds of thousands.

Trotsky's Transitional Program summarizes the experience of revolutionary Marxists who have been grappling with the challenge of how to make the revolution since the time of Marx. Elements of a transitional method can be found in the *Communist Manifesto.* Luxemburg and Liebknecht included it in the program of the German Spartakus League. The Bolsheviks put it into practice with their victorious revolution and summed their experiences up in the first four congresses of the Third International. But it was Trotsky who pulled together the experiences of past Internationals and the fledgling Fourth International and synthesized them into a method and program for revolutionaries to cross the bridge to the masses.

A critical part of winning the millions of workers and other oppressed to the program of revolutionary Marxism is in challenging and defeating the present misleaders of the working class — reformists of every stripe, from Social Democracy to Stalinism. The reformists, like the NDP leaders here in Canada, aim to gradually improve the capitalist system, while they play the role of mediator between labor and capital. They may lead fights for the immediate demands of the working class, but only to prevent the struggle from going beyond safe channels.

Similarly, the Stalinist degeneration and bureaucratization of the Communist parties stands in the way of workers finding the real revolutionary traditions of the Bolsheviks. Their constant betrayal of revolutionary struggle — from the disarming of the Chinese revolutionaries in 1926-27, permitting them to be slaughtered by Chaing Kai-shek, to Moscow and Peking forcing a stalemate on the Indochinese revolution for the sake of diplomatic maneuvers with US imperialism last year — has repeatedly turned the working class back from the road to revolution, and pushed whole generations of militants into reformism or ultraleft isolation from the masses.

By explaining in theory the transitional method of Marxism, Trotsky made available

the tools of revolution for those who were to carry on the traditions of the Bolsheviks: "The Fourth International is now the only international organization which not only takes clearly into account the driving forces of the imperialist epoch but is armed with a system of transitional demands which are capable of uniting the masses for a revolutionary struggle tor power. We do not need any self-deceptions. The discrepancy between our forces today and the tasks of the morrow is much more clearly perceived by us than by our critics. But the harsh and tragic dialectic of our epoch is working in our favor. Brought to the extreme pitch of exasperation and indignation the masses will find no other leadership than that offered by the Fourth international."

(Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1938-39, P. 57)

a

196 EAST 20th AVE.,
Vancouver, B.C.

April 1, 1973

tape 1 Side 1 Track (3) 2

Dear Ross:

Read your recent letter to Nick and myself with interest, and found the xerox copy of your contribution on the NDP question very interesting also. We had been looking forward to this even tho' we'd more or less deduced the main lines from the Tendency declaration. But I myself had been ignorant of the issues and of the details of the development of our position vis-a-vis the nationalism (canadian) of the Waffle and had been arguing that no, it wasn't because Waffle was nationalist that it broke from the NDP (in fact it didn't "break") but because it didn't see the importance of class politics. You can see that my ~~xxxxxx~~ appreciation was pretty rudimentary. I have only read the document once hastily and must study it. Of course your comments against the "fetishism" of the PC are just, completely. Was very pleased with the detailed documentation of our position all down the line on the Waffle and the national question. . Of course I have been out of touch with not only developments in Toronto but all of English Canada, cloistered as I have been in our cosy little bookstore in Montreal, and being out here in Vancouver is like getting a large breath of fresh air. You in Toronto have had, vis-a-vis the whole Waffle development, a much more complete, richer experience, I gather, than was possible for the comrades here in Vancouver. This document will have a great educational value on the nature of our orientation to the NDP.

I enclose an article from the Sun ~~xxxxxx~~ with an excellent reportage of the meeting we held out here. The Sun was, for once, very obliging.

I receive Le Devoir here and try to follow developments in Quebec. I am however working all kinds of odd hours and am not able to concentrate "comme il faut" on the convention documentation. Before the Tendency call I had hardly even talked to Nick about the necessity of getting together to discuss how we should handle the discussion, but with the formation of the Tendency it is now formalized and we have drawn in ~~xxx~~ other firm comrades and possibly another, (Shiela, Ren and Bob S., with another whose name I forget.) Ken H. seems interested and friendly and a large body of the branch has not expressed an opinion one way or the other, although the lines seem to be hardening. But the debate has been to date largely general and yet incidental; we need to present in an educational way the main points of your two documents on the edonomic assimilation of the Canadian economy into that of the US's, the material on the Canadian banks (!) and secondly, Dennis L.'s document on the Leninist approach to the national question.

This we have not yet done but this Wed. Nick will give the major Tendency report on this question and we will be having our second Tendency meeting just before to plan our intervention.

Some comrades seem to concede the point of assimilation of the Canadian economy by the US but insist that natio nalism is bourgeois and will somehow be used as a tool with the agreement of US capitalism. It appears to me that the PC document Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism is totally undercut by our and Dennis' documentation. I confess that I had no idea that it could be so totally undercut. Without a doubt our documentation is a real contribution to the theoretical arsenal of Canadian trotskyism. It makes the efforts of all the others on the "left" that I have read seem like mere prologue.

and outsiders left

b

I found the Tendency declaration excellent, although I could only conjecture as to the political situation in the centre which necessitated it. Further documentation will clarify that.

We had a debate on Women's Liberation document last week and I found myself defending Linda Blackwood's contribution against the most incredible criticisms, led by Joan Newbiggin and the two Bullocks. Hardly a word to say about the sweeping claims of the Schultz document, which, as one woman comrade pointed out, implicitly denies that there is more than a tactical difference tween the League position and that of the RCT. (One small difficulty remains: the RCT opposes feminism and the entire revoltuionary dynamic of the women's movement!).

On the Political Resolution, I led off (I gather Nick had not prepared anything, though I insist that he lead the Tendency discussion here) by pointing out that we had approached the document with the perspective of general support, inasmuch has the document reports on the past and the method and evaluation of the radicalisation as we had evaluated it and oriented to it up to the present; but I protested the completely inadequate, if not "dishonest" approach of the doc. on the question of Cdn. nationalism, which attempts to smother the entire question under the pillow of Stalinism and does not even report our past evaluation, as concretised by the doc. of 1968 and practised up until recent times. No evaluation of how we had supposedly erred. Of course, the error of the PC on the evaluation of Canadian nationalism pops up in many places throughout the doc. and the evaluation of the experience with Waffle is turned topsy-turvey, (this latter so I thought at least until confirmed by your latest doc.)

Was personally a little puzzled by Art Y. when in Van. he said that due to many factors the international question would take priority because of its importance at the convention. Quite possible, but I hope this does not mean that the question of the PC document Canada and the Crisis is cut short, unless to the degree that they withdraw it from a vote.

Anyhow, you can see by this letter that due to my "holiday" and being out of circulation for a period I am pretty rusty and that my contribution to the presentation of the Tendency position will be inadequate if not enthusiastic. I doubt if I will be at the convention but certainly Nick and Ron and perhaps others will be. I am saving my pennies and plan to return to the east in the summer and perhaps spend some time in Toronto before returning to Quebec.

Have followed Liberation and the Quebec scene superficially. I agree on your assessment of the question of the labor party demand in our work in Quebec (God how the confusion was rife during the last 6 months!) I saw Gagnon's remarks and probably clipped them here. The question of our approach to nationalism and the national question as a phenomenon produced by advance decay of world imperialism interests me greatly. I may include a presentation I made on this question. Quite possible it is in error on some major points. I would be interested in our your opinions.

Am glad to hear that the work of the Tendency and the support for it is going well. As we expressed it here at our first meeting, our intention is to put the movement back on the tracks on this question, that is, re-establish our prior position, which, although perhaps lacking theoretical foundation in depth, pointed in the correct direction and above all was an exercise in the trotskysist method of approaching social phenomena.

Well I've used up all my reading time and have to work tonight. All future free time is reserved to studying the doc's so I can catch up to where the debate's at.

Best wishes and good luck,

John Darling

The Political Resolution for our bi-annual conventions does what a "key-note speech" does in other organisations and gatherings: it sets a tone and charts a course ahead. For a Bolshevik mouvement, it does this in a unique style, the "scientific" style. The course ahead flows from an analysis of the past period, based on the method of revolutionary marxism, Trotskysm. That's a living, developing thing.

The Political Resolution before us is by and large just this, particularly in its analysis of the world, Canadian and Quebec situation ~~xxxxx~~ up to the present. But there is a notable departure from this method of analysis on one of the key questions with which it deals. This is the section caracteristically entitled "National Liberation or Class Struggle Politics?" --caracteristically, because in itself it suggests disarmingly how the method of approaching a question used elswhere in the document, is abandoned here.

This refusal to deal with the question of the developing sentiment of Canadian nationalism within the working class of English Canada has been justified in terms of a mis-application of Marxist theory vis-a-vis the national question and upon the erection of a theory of ~~the~~supreme sovereignty of Canadian capitalism within the Canadian "national" state and of Canada as an imperialist force within its own right.

[redacted] United Tendency ch[redacted]

this t[redacted]

Documentation now available from the United Tendency challenges this theory of supreme sovereignty of Canadian capitalism and demonstrates by its factual examination of the overwhelming economic integration of American imperialism into the fabric of Canadian capitalism, that the Canadian capitalist class, even within the citadels of its banks, has no desire to protect its national borders, and the policies of its state are profoundly "internationalist" toward the US, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ To the contrary, it seeks to hasten the already advanced state of economic integration of the Canadian economy with that of the ~~most powerful~~ imperialist nation of the world.

Well, how should the Political resolution have approached the question of a developing nationalist sentiment within an advanced capitalist country?

We see that the PC starts out not with an examination of the nationalist sentiment; what class expresses it, its forms of expression, etc., but instead it starts out with supposedly immutable precepts of nationalism being a priori reactionary wherever national tasks have been said to have been completed. That is, that nationalism is first and foremost the bourgeois tool used to fashion the nation-state, task No. 1 for each national bourgeoisie.

But to begin to view the question of nationalism as the traditional tool of the bourgeoisie is to miss the point of the present-day process of radicalisation. And it is to blind oneself to the fact that nationalism is appearing as a proletarian, potentially revolutionary force throughout the world, due to the delay on the historical scale of the socialist revolution on the world scale, particularly North America. As the Resolution itself says on Page 47: "Struggles for democratic rights assume great importance in this period when decadent capitalism in its death agony increasingly turns against even previous conquests of the democratic movement", etc.

The present rise of nationalism in Canada can be said to be a reaction against the willingness of the Canadian capitalist class to literally "sell out" whatever degree of sovereignty its national state affords it, at the expense of the welfare, living conditions and degree of control that Canadian workers enjoyed in the past. This fact also precludes the possibility that proletarian Canadian nationalism is per se a force supporting the Canadian bourgeoisie. However, inasmuch as this force is mis-led by opportunist and Stalinist currents, it becomes a blunted and frustrated force. Because of this, it is imperative that the revolutionary socialists intervene in such a

way as to direct this powerful force along the paths on which it is fundamentally headed: an anti-US big business and anti-Canadian bourgeois state complicity sentiment. Of course this nationalist sentiment is contradictory in its expression; of course there is a danger it might be mis-led and coopted as an aditional lever of pressure by the Canadian bourgeoisie, or even reformist labor currents. It is the task of the Trotskyist movement to provide a revolutionary dir ection to this naked force.

Lets go back to the starting point of the PC's error. It's the imposition of an array of Marxist precepts upon reality, which releases it conviently from the obligation of analysing a political current in the working class that might appear distasteful and ugly to revolutionary socialists.

The opposition to Canadian nationalist sentiment is based on the alleged fact of completion of national tasks of the Canadian nation state.

Whether this historical task was actually ever fully completed, and under what kinds of conditions, or how this task is being unravelled by the process of economic integration into the US economy, should be examined.

But in our approach to the phenomenon of nationalism in advanced capitalist countries we never started solely from the narrow point of view of national tasks to be accomplished.

The prior experience of the Black Power movement in the US, and the precision with which our co-thinkers of the SWP approached black nationalism, were important factors enabling us to reach a correct analysis of Quebecois nationalism and to provide the theoretical basis of the slogan "For an Independent Quebec". Behind the apparent drive toward black nationhood, which if viewed in cold logic would have culminated in the creation of a distinct Black nation or region within the US, was a overwhelmingly proletarian struggle around democratic and class struggle issues. The idea of the accomplishment of the task of Black bourgeois nationhood, while always a remote political possibility, was not the essence of the drive of this ghetto nationalism.

Similarly, the nationalist sentiment of Quebecois workers is not in essence a drive towards completion of the task of establishing a bourgeois nation state. In Quebec, the possibility in terms of geographical concentration of the nation is manifestly logical, and the major political expression of independantism is the

bourgeois party, the PQ. We have nevertheless correctly analysed Quebecois nationalism, inasmuch as it is rooted within the francophone working class to a significant degree, as having a dynamic quite distinct from the apparent major direction of the struggle, bourgeois independence. We never viewed the function of nationalist sentiment formalistically as being a force destined to accomplish the national task of the independent bourgeois state.

We have seen vividly how the May-June labor upsurge, heavily nationalist in its overtones, was consequently more general in its demands, and that the issue was independence for the working class, not the sovereignty of the bourgeois state of Quebec.

It's true that the proletarian, that is revolutionary as distinct from democratic, leading edge of Quebecois nationalism, is muted and sporadic. The tiny forces of the Quebec bourgeoisie feel securely in the drivers' seat behind the massive Parti Quebecois, which they are betting will be capable of containing this force, and because the mass labor party is absent, and the revolutionary left presently small.

[redacted] can not satisfy ourse[redacted] support Quebec nationalism because "it is on the agenda" in historical terms, because the Quebec nation-state has yet to be established. On the contrary, we support it because it is proletarian in origin and because its logic is to by-pass the establishment of a bourgeois nation state. The national question will not be solved in Quebec until the Quebec and North American socialist revolution create the conditions under which the Quebec workers will be able to freely decide to create a socialist republic on the continent. At no time do we impose the obligation of internationalism upon them; nor do we view their struggle in terms of "tasks" of the historical period of the rising bourgeoisie.

It is this method of approach which we must employ in evaluating the nationalist sentiments of a working class within a nation state

which has formally "accomplished the task" of independence for its bourgeoisie. It is necessary to note that this task was never constitutionally "completed" and nationhood was achieved in a completely "cold" manner, except during the forcible periods of repression to convince Quebec to go along. Confederation was, as we know, an act calculated cooly in the boardrooms, [redacted] to preserve domaines from the revolutionary bourgeois republic to the South. There was no vast mobilisation of [redacted] plebian masses used as a battering ram to [redacted] smash historical barriers to establish bourgeois democratic tasks. There is no great national tradition in Canada, at least nothing greater than MacDonalds "National Policy" as a guise to foster the development of a Canadian manufacturing class.

The Canadian nationalism taking shape as an anti-US sentiment, anti-imperialism and anti-domination on the economic and cultural levels, is a nationalism without tradition, a complete break from the jingoist campaigns of the World Wars and the campaigns against Quebec, and whose origin is as an outgrowth of the present youth radicalisation, which as we [redacted] same basic root: anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism, as focussed by the [redacted] war in Vietnam (as waged by US imperialism in the name of world capitalism), by the Cuban, African and Arab revolution (waged against US domination in the name of world colonialism.)

In conclusion, it is false to view the resurgence of nationalism within the borders of advanced capitalist countries solely in terms of the function of the traditional historical role of this force in the epoch of rising capitalism. The Transitional Program situates us in a very different period. That the death agony pains of advanced imperialism should not [redacted] find expression in terms of overt revolutionary sentiments of a class conscious nature, but should be expressed in apparently backward terms of nationalism, in the language of the past, should not throw revolutionary socialists off the trail. Our analytical method should reveal its secret and potential to us.

April 9, 1973

Dennis Lomas,
United Tendency

Dear Dennis, Ross & Co.

Just a short few lines to say how much we appreciated seeing Dennis in Vancouver and a few comments on recent developments.

Comrade Phil arrived Sunday and was assigned a 30-minute report on "where the debate is at" on the Canadian nationalism question. We decided not to challenge this even though it was obvious that with a little cooperation from the branch executive here (and perhaps the centre) we could have arranged Dennis's tour so that he could have given the counter-report. Most unfortunate. Nick put together some notes, but under the provocation of comrade Phil's comments really took off with a fine, strong presentation of our ideas. Ren also intervened well; I had only 5 minutes to squeeze in a few debaters' points near the end. At the end of the meeting I felt strangely satisfied that we had shaken them up a bit but I didn't get much sleep last night as I realized just where the leadership is taking us on this debate and just what a gory black hole the majority position is going to plunge the movement into.

We were afraid that Phil had a special purpose in coming out and intervening in a major way, and our fears were justified. He tried to put the debate on a factional basis. There are all kinds of very simple and obvious misrepresentations of our positions in a programmatic way to make us look ridiculous, or, more significantly, most definitely on the road to bourgeois revisionism of one kind or another.

I am therefore drafting a mildly worded protest against the new tone set by Phil in the debate which I hope the UT comrades will agree with.* We must do this to prevent all hell from breaking loose during our NDP discussion this Wednesday. The debate on the part of the comrades in general is degenerating from earlier sessions; lines are hardening in a highly polemical way, and some comrades now say they disagreed with our line on nationalism all along, etc., etc., others are lecturing the UT on the dangers of popular fronts, the evils of the UT's canadian unionism, etc., etc. Thus our replies tend to of necessity more polemical, debaters' tricks against debaters' tricks. A sure and premature sign of early degeneration of the debate. Lord knows what will happen at the convention.

I appreciate perhaps a little more now the hot and heavy situation that you find yourselves in, at the centre. Hang in there, comrades.

Wednesday night Ren will give the report based on "Theory is gray..." He is coming along nicely for the UT.

Will write again later in the week with my account of developments.

Regards,

John Darling

*Nick went off to a union meeting [illegible] but we will have something ready for next branch meeting.

"**Notes for Gord D's presentation"**– on the **United Tendency's platform**

"April 15/73 to Metro" *(to combined Metro branch Toronto LSA –ed.)*

(Transcribed from handwritten notes by R.D.)
(Editorial and grammatical notes)

The first point on the United Tendency's platform is support of the Lenin-Trotsky Tendency in the Fourth International.

This stands first in our 2 point platform although comrades identify our tendency with urging an orientation of the Canadian Trotskyists to working within the new nationalism which permeates the Canadian left in order to project our Marxist analysis and present our Trotskyist program of democratic and transitional demands in a way which will link to it's essentially anti-capitalist dynamic.

Solidarity with the international L-T tendency is not an incidental aspect of our platform – it is not even a second leg – it is the most important of the 2 planks of our platform. It is more important than the question of an appreciation of an orientation to this new Canadian nationalism, as important as this is if our movement is going to effectively intervene in the radicalization which all 3 tendencies recognize is permeated by it.

This point marks the UT off not only from the course the International pursued particularly in Bolivia and Argentina since the 1969 World Congress – the guerrilla war strategy – which has been disastrous.

It marks us off from the whole method (….) that the Fourth International under the majority leadership has pursued in meeting the problems of building the parties of the FI into effective forces that can become the leadership of the working class in the class struggle.

We are as the L-T tendency declaration spells out in point 4: for resumption by the leading bodies of the FI of the method outlined in the Transitional Program to solve the problems we face in bidding for the leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle, and (in point) 5 for reaffirming the basic programmatic tradition, and practices, of the FI as they stood up to the time of the Third W.C. since Reunification (Ninth WC); that is, specifically, of commitment to the Leninist strategy of building a combat party. The more revolutionary the situation, the more decisive becomes the role of such a party.

The conflicting concepts on the methodological level involve not just the guerrilla orientation as projected on a Latin American continental scale and practised in Argentina & Bolivia but differences on many other important questions – the construction of Marxist youth organizations, the historical balance sheet of entryism *sui generis ("of a special kind," the deep-entry liquidationist type advocated by Pablo in the FI in the 1950s, which our movement fought – ed.), (and our strategic)* policies in the anti-war movement, etc., etc.

These are not matters that concern the Canadian section of the FI in its relations with our co-workers in Britain, France, Germany, etc., but right here in our own section.

We have in our section a group of comrades who have been gravely disoriented by the positions adopted by the Ninth W(orld) C(ongress) and who are in the process of disorienting new forces in Canada particularly in Toronto who see themselves coming to Trotskyism. I am referring to the comrades organized in the RCT *(Revolutionary Communist Tendency –ed.)* The L-T tendency is not only in a struggle against mistaken policies being applied in Latin America but policies that are being advocated within our own section here in Canada and which we are for vigorous combat against.

The RCT has presented the Canadian section and our coming Convention with a 15-document platform. These documents present positions on almost every area of our work – past, present and future. This tendency while it has added new forces to its ranks over the past year, comrades some of whom for some period struggled against policies outlined in some of these documents, has in effect taken nothing away that (was) documented its previous gravely erroneous positions.

The fact that it has dropped its defence of the El Combatiente Sallustre kidnapping and its former complete endorsation of the ERP's Guevarist strategy, which has proven so disastrous, is made up for by its encompassing in its platform "In Defence of Leninism" by E. Germain *(Ernest Mandel –ed.)*

For this convention the RCT has submitted a document as a line *(major policy –ed.)* contribution which strikes out against what we have (always) considered the touchstone of class politics in Canada – the NDP – which has been the fundamental orientation of our movement for some decades.

This document disarmingly entitled "Our Liquidation into the Ontario Waffle" points up the reality of the crises of the FI which the L-T tendency has been organized to rectify and how important for the future of the Canadian section it is that the L-T tendency win in its struggle in the FI and those forces which support it in the Canadian section, and to win out in the struggle against the erroneous line of the RCT.

In our (United Tendency) tendency statement we said we stand on 2 documents: "Our Orientation to the NDP – the strategy and its tactical application," and the document "The NDP and the Waffle" adopted by the 1971 Plenum *(see in Correspondence, 1971 –ed.)*

This point appeared in our declaration when we became aware that Comrade Gandall was preparing a contribution on the NDP and our general line, and we had urged the PC to present a document on this question and allocate time on the agenda for this specific purpose – but to no avail. When we came to present a short statement that could serve as an explanation for the extension of this point from our tendency statement **onto** our platform we realized that the experience had been largely an Ontario one and it would be difficult if not impossible to work this out to the satisfaction of a tendency formed late in the day, without resources, and that was scattered across the continent.

The RCT's line document on the NDP is not entirely without merit. It attempts to deal with our recent experience in the NDP, our role in the Ontario Waffle left-wing during, and after the exit of the Waffle-MISC forces *(Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada, as Waffle became known after its expulsion from the NDP –ed.)* It is to be hoped that it will serve to open up a serious discussion in our ranks particularly with regards to our work in the NDP since it has now been stripped clean of viable left-wing forces – which are now largely concentrated on MISC. But that is only incidental.

This RCT document is fundamentally an attack against our entire NDP orientation. In passing it should be noted that it is a counter-document to the document "Our Orientation to the NDP: the Strategy and its Tactical Application" which was a contribution in Comrade Dowson's name to the last Congress of the International discussion on entrism *sui generis*.

This contribution attacks our fundamental orientation to the NDP, which we have characterized as the touchstone of class politics and which we have for some time had a policy of unconditional support of, and intensive fraction in, with a non-split perspective.

It does so in 2 ways: 1. it attacks some of our recent practises on our NDP orientation – on some instances on correct grounds – but practises which are related to our line only in so far as they have been a false practise of our line; 2. by presenting a completely false picture (….) of the needs, and level of consciousness, of the Canadian working class and the role of the NDP in this process (by ignoring the needs of the broad ranks of the NDP and its supporters, and presenting a false and schematic picture of the level of consciousness of the Canadian working class and the role of the NDP in this process.)

This has led them to conclude that the NDP is just "in the way, plain and simple"*("the NDP is in the way, and on the way" was a common formulation of LSA policy – ed.)* of the LSA as (*the source of building the)* nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard, and to see the NDP a "merely an important work area in the *(working)* class in the current conjuncture."

What underlies this attack on our NDP orientation which is an orientation to the developing politicalization of the Canadian working class is a totally different orientation away from participating (alongside the varied activities of our open LSA/LSO) in the building of a mass left wing in the NDP – to "the most militant angry young militants in the party on the basis of a hard programmatic differentiation between ourselves and the NDP leadership," away from "the concerns" (p. 18), "the conscious orientation to building broad left wings inside the party" to "posing the full program" and "to act as a revolutionary Marxist pole."

The full program which we are to pose inside the NDP is outlined as "positions which left social democrats could not possibly support – such as the necessity of a vanguard party, the impossibility of the parliamentary road to socialism or the impossibility of winning a social-democratic party like the NDP to socialism."

(p. 35 – On angry militants') projects: (p. 22) "We will provoke splits and breakaways inside the NDP only by providing a visible credible revolutionary pole of attraction outside, not by the work of individual militants inside." Line posed here: "a caucus largely composed of revolutionaries."

The actions that we should take in the NDP according to the RCT are clearly to be determined by the "concerns" of the angry militants, "the most militant angry young militants," and it is objectively in the interests of the broadest working masses and what must be done to advance the class struggle nationally and internationally.

(On the contrary), in the spirit of the Transitional Program, we start with the objective needs of the masses. We address ourselves to them and the mass organizations they consider represent them, projecting concrete demands that correspond both to the need and consciousness of the broad masses and that can move the struggle forward and thereby heighten their level of consciousness.

Not the concerns of the angry young militants but the objective needs of the workers flow (into) 2 divergent courses of action. The one advocated by RCT leads to maximalist demands and so-called militant actions like the picket against the NDP brass over their support of the International Commission *(the body in which the Canadian military monitors whitewashed the US effort in the war in Vietnam –ed.)* that presumably reflect the level of consciousness of the angry militants. In reality they are adaptations to its political ignorance and backwardness. The other is firmly based on the method of the Transitional Program which aims at mobilizing the masses in the struggle whatever their level of consciousness and moving them toward socialist revolution.

We still organize the angry young militants in actions that speak to the needs and consciousness of the masses – not the concerns of the militants. To win recruits to the LSA from the angry young militants we must convince them of the correctness of our program for the working masses – the forces that must be mobilized for the success of the revolution.

Thus in this false approach to the workers organized in the NDP that the RCT now presents for adoption of our convention we can see only amplified to a higher plane the false approach they have consistently advanced in the past period in the anti-war movement where they would dump the efforts and the demands designed to mobilize a broad mass support to the Vietnamese cause for demands that address themselves to the concerns of the angry militants.

The United Tendency is for the defence of our NDP orientation which itself is an expression of our Transitional concepts against the false method that underlies their attack on our orientation and many of the other errors of the RCT. I would now like to move onto point 2.

The NDP presents us with some problems. Our Tendency statement said we formed on #3: "We stand on the theory and practice of our movement as regards to the NDP

expressed in the document "Our Orientation to the NDP: the Strategy and its Tactical Application," the document "The NDP and the Waffle" adopted by the 1971 Plenum, and our practice with regards to the NDP and the Waffle up until the summer of 1972."

The common opinion this expressed was: 1) that it was a mistake to have made the nationalism of the Waffle the key and divisive question in our relations with it. These opinions have been grossly misinterpreted by the Majority tendency – particularly around the contribution by Comrade Dowson "Theory is gray, but life is green" *(see this document at April 1973 –ed.)* Despite very clear identification with the 2 key documents, widespread gossip (is) that we are for (a pact) with MISC, for dumping our orientation;

2) that the theory of our movement – outlining our orientation as "the NDP as the focus of our politics – but not necessarily the centre of our activity," "unconditional support of the NDP, intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective," **is correct but there have been serious errors in practice in the recent period,** in our press and in our fraction and its relation to the Left Caucus. Another problem is that much of this has been a **Toronto experience** not shared by the pan-Canadian movement and therefore involved considerable history as well as interpretation – and we are a cross-Canada tendency coming to a pan-Canadian Convention.

A further motivation for that, #3, was our knowledge that our line was under attack by the RCT – we wanted to affirm our defence of that line against the RCT. It was on this basis that Comrade Dowson (and the UT) sought several months ago to have the PC prepare documentation on this and allocate special time in the convention for this – we failed.

At long last this RCT document has appeared – very late, April 10. The Tendency of course has not yet had an opportunity to fully assess this document even here in Toronto – Vancouver has not received it (as has) no other (branch); so there hasn't even been consultation.

That is why we removed this item from our platform. So – where from here….

(notes end)

draft of statement by UT to Vancouver branch

April 11, 1973

The UT feels obliged to express its concern regarding usage of certain factional terms for the first time in the Vancouver branch pre-convention discussion. In the course of the Sunday April 8 meeting, which was a continuation of the discussion on the issue of Canada-US relations and the evaluation of Canadian nationalism today, and at which a PC comrade visiting the branch made a 30-minute contribution on behalf of the PC position, a significant shift in the tone of the discussion occurred. The comrade, Phil C--, in criticizing the UT position, made references to "capitulation to the pressures of bourgeois society", and to illustrate his point on what he referred to as the UT's "impressionism", he made an analogy with the Burnham-Schatchman debate, a debate which took place in 1939-40 within the SWP.

(This debate ended with a split by a petty-bourgeois faction which had abandoned the position of defence of the Soviet Union under the weight of the reaction of preparations for World War II. The entire episode has since served to educate the Trotskyist movement, through such works as Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism" and James Cannon's "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party". The struggle was centered around a theoretical defence of dialectical materialism.)

During comrade Phil's summary, he made use of the term "pseudo-Marxists" as a thinly veiled reference to comrades of the UT, in describing elements outside the movement who defend Canadian nationalism as it is manifested today and who wish to make a serious analysis of it.

These comments have been taped, as have all other contributions in this discussion.

We would like to make the following 2 points:

1) Although it is unusual that a central office comrade should intervene not only as a participant but in leading off the debate anew on a question already under way within a branch pre-convention discussion, we have raised no objection. We asked for, and obtained, equal time for a reply, which was also our second presentation. We expected that the central office comrade would present an account of where the discussion had arrived in the centre, with an appreciation of the most recent thinking of both majority and minority comrades on the question of Canadian nationalism. However, Comrade Phil, while he brought some new material into the debate, did so in the factional manner described above. In the opinion of the UT this constitutes improper conduct from a leading comrade and sets a bad example to the Vancouver branch.

2) We want to state categorically that we of the UT will not respond in like manner. We will not be provoked or encouraged to adopt this line of characterizing prematurely the political nature of the opposition, or presenting false conclusions to a debate that is in its opening stages, that has not yet reached the convention. We will continue to the best of our ability to present our arguments in as educational and dispassionate a manner as possible. But we insist that the comrades of the Majority Tendency and those who support it do likewise.

What is at stake? Prematurely characterizing the nature of the opposition on this question as "capitulation" or as "sectarian" by either side would lead rapidly to a degeneration of the debate, a premature hardening of lines, and worse, possible permanent damage to the revolutionary organization we have sought for so many years to construct.

This matter is above all the responsibility of the leadership of our movement, and we of the UT urge it to meet these responsibilities.

--30--

Maurice Flood says that the story is that Ross worked out the line on the postal workers — it is not known that he wrote a memorandum against the first article

Interesting — our whole NDP-CCF line is under attack by the PC-Spirits —

196 East 20th Ave.,
Vancouver B.C.

April 12, 1973

Dear Dennis and UT comrades:

I enclose the declaration as we made it at the last branch mtg. We will forward a copy to the CO and I will make a rough translation and send a copy to Montreal.

The branch meeting discussed the NDP and went off quite well. Phil behaved himself after we read our statement at the beginning and Ren, who is a new comrade but who has had some considerable experience around the NDY in BC did a good job of presenting the main ideas of the "Theory is grey" document. In fact, the majority comrades seemed decidedly on the defensive. Nick spoke well again as did Bob Simms. I think if we are able to send these 3 Vancouver comrades you will have an important contribution from out here.

Comrade Phil was of course ultra active during his leisure hours between branch meetings (it was he, and not the comrade assigned, Joyce, who gave the presentation), and it appears they have signed up everyong on the Majority Tendency fan club, including two comrades who have shown a lot of interest and even support for our appreach just a few days ago (Ken H. and Don Sage). I would be interesting to know what approach was used to bring them around... I notice the heavy emphasis on the "abstention vote in no instance counts..." (which is of course legitimate) in the question of deciding proportions used for electing delegates. With four supporters here in Vancouver I suppose we are guaranteed 1 delegate, apart from Nick, and they didn't want any possibility of that deadly 2nd...

So we were able to make some telling points on the nature of the present evolution of Waffle (in Ontario) and the PC's feeble attempt to picture the black cloak of the villian nationalism envelopping poor Waffle and driving it our of the NDP and into the hands of the Canadian bourgeoisie. With only 4 of us and so few of them willing to speak we didn't even take up the time allotted for discussion, a measly hour and a half! Comrade Phil didn't give us much too much to shoot at during his gentlemany introduction but left us with a few gems from his summary, which, by the nature of their timing, went unanswered, conveniently. It seems that it was our mistake all alohg to support the NDP "unconditionally". (Ruth Bullock reports how, in 1961 at the time of the launching of the LSA, Malcolm Bruch's opinion was that our support of the NDP ought to have been one "without set conditions" and that "unconditional support" should never have been adopted.) Phil: "Revolutionary socialists need a policy of critical support of the NDP"..."We are against unconditional support, as for example is proven by our running a candidate in Quebec against the NDP." I don't know what this indicates of course but we pointed out that this was something new and that the PC was muddling up our strategical approach to the NDP with the tactical questions of our overall orientation.

The critique of MISC was not as a right-wing tendency this time around, but as a formation shot through with contradictions, un-Leninist and that the acid test of our positions is where do you stand on the class struggle, etc.

Ruth has raised the issue of the 1947 withdrawal from the CCF as a mistake, a decision imposed upon the Vancouver comrades who were involved in important union activity engaged in doing groundwork against the influence of the CP. Perhaps sometime in the discussion or documentation this point will have to be clarified.

There has been no presentation of the positions of the RCT here and Phil glossed over it with the excuse that none of their documents (line) have been circulated.

Our latest documentation has just arrived and I read our line document for the first time today -- really excellent; we are clarifying and condensing our line in a clear striking manner for the convention. A good basis to branch out from, and I think that regardless of the vote at the convention we should put the tendency on a footing for a continued literary discussion. We obviously have much to say in developing our theoretical positions and above all on the key tactical questions before the movement. It seems certain that with the Majority line we are in for a very bleak and increasingly difficult period ahead as regards the Canadian section.

Well, I have still some documents to read.

Good luck

With fraternal greetings,

John Darling